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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review



A Study of Interaction and Consensus in Different Sized Groups *A. P. Hare*

Alternative Methods of Parole Prediction *L. E. Ohlin and R. A. Lawrence*

Monetary Meanings in the Child *Anselm L. Strauss*

Subject and Object Scales *Matilda White Riley and Jackson Toby*

Conjugal Family and Extended Family *James Stephen Brown*

Family Size and Marital Adjustment *H. T. Christensen and R. E. Philbrick*

Migration Within the State of Washinton *C. F. Schmid and M. J. Griswold*

Southern White Workers in Northern Plants *Lewis M. Killian*

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Vol. 17

June 1952

No. 3

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

June
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Volume 17
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Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

A STUDY OF INTERACTION AND CONSENSUS IN DIFFERENT SIZED GROUPS*

A. PAUL HARE

Princeton University

THE small group has recently become the subject of an increasing amount of research among sociologists and psychologists, reflecting a rising interest in this area which, as Merton has noted,¹ cannot accurately be called new; it is rather a renaissance. Cooley and Simmel are only the best remembered of the earlier sociologists who dealt with the small group. Part of the current interest is centered on the factor of group size as evidenced by two recent articles in the *American Sociological Review* by Bales² and James.³ In addition to being an important theoretical question, group size is of concern to such on-going groups as the National Education Association, the League of Women Voters, and the Tavistock Clinic, which organizations have been forced to reach some conclusions about the optimum size for discussion groups in order to carry out their activities.

The most extensive discussion of the importance of the size of the group in sociological literature is given by Simmel who provides numerous historical accounts of the importance of group size in social life. Although many of Simmel's remarks have to

do with either the very small group such as the dyad and the triad, or the very large group such as the mass, and so are not related directly to the present problem, he does provide the basic premise which underlies this research: that size is a significant determining factor in group interaction.⁴

A number of other articles in the sociological and psychological literature suggest hypotheses which are directly or indirectly tested by this experiment. Although some of the literature has dealt with optimum group size, this research is not directly concerned with this problem, but with the problem of demonstrating that there are different patterns of interaction in different sized groups and that these patterns tend to result in less satisfaction with the participation and less consensus as the group size is increased.⁵

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

To test a specific set of hypotheses concerning the influence of group size an experiment was designed in which some one hundred and fifty Boy Scouts took part in small discussion groups. In a summer camp, nine groups of five boys and nine groups of twelve boys played a "camping game." First the boys were told a story about a camping trip which ended in misfortune so that it

* Abstracted from a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, December, 1951.

¹ Robert K. Merton, "Introduction," in George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950, pp. xvii f.

² Robert F. Bales and Others, "Channels of Communication in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (August, 1951), 461-468.

³ John James, "A Preliminary Study of the Size Determinant in Small Group Interaction," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (August, 1951), 474-477.

⁴ Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. by Kurt H. Wolf, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950, p. 87.

⁵ It is recognized that there are many variables other than size which operate in a group and are equally important; therefore, the experiment was designed to hold these constant while studying the effects of changes in size. Because leader skill is an important factor which could not be entirely controlled, an evaluation of the leadership was also made to determine its influence on consensus.

was necessary for each boy to find his way back to civilization alone. Then the boys individually rated ten pieces of camping equipment⁶ in the order of their importance for such a trip. Each group was then asked to decide as a group which of the pieces of equipment was the most important. After the discussion the boys as individuals again rated the ten pieces of equipment. This was followed by a short questionnaire to record observations about the discussion. Some time after the game the leader was interviewed and given a Thematic Apperception Test.

MEASUREMENT OF CONSENSUS

The amount of consensus in the group is measured by having each individual rate the ten pieces of camping equipment before discussion, the group rate the equipment during discussion, and the individual again rate them after discussion. The rank orders of equipment before discussion for each of the followers⁷ in a group are combined by using the statistic r_{av} , average correlation of all rank orders.⁸ The r_{av} is also computed for each group after discussion. The mean correlation (\bar{r}_{av}) before discussion for all groups of the same size represents the average amount of agreement among Boy Scouts about the importance of camping equipment, and the \bar{r}_{av} after discussion represents the point to which consensus is increased as a result of the discussion.

Because an increase in consensus cannot be made without some change in individual opinions, another statistic which is used to describe the amount of consistency in each individual as well as his change of opinion in the direction of the group decision is the rank order correlation (r'). Three rank order correlations are computed for each individual: the individual's first rating of the ten items of equipment is correlated with the rating arrived at by the whole group after discussion (r'_{12}), the group rating is cor-

related with the final individual rating (r'_{23}), and the first individual rating is correlated with the final rating (r'_{13}).

A high correlation for r'_{12} indicates that the group decision is close to that which the individual selects at first and suggests that he may have influenced the group. A low correlation for r'_{12} combined with a high r'_{23} indicates that although the individual originally had ideas which were different, he has been won over to the group decision. Finally a high correlation for r'_{13} indicates that the individual has not changed his opinion as a result of the discussion.

NATURE OF INTERACTION

The questionnaire was designed to reveal some characteristics of the nature of interaction during discussion. Among the factors about which information was sought were the role of persons other than the leader, the importance of enough time for discussion, the amount of participation of the members and their feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and the breaking of the groups into smaller factions with individual spokesmen.⁹

LEADER SKILL

Since the personality of the leader and his skill in guiding the group discussion are recognized as major variables in any group processes, an attempt was made to control and measure leadership by the use of specific directions for the leader during the game and a projective test later to indicate his potential leadership skill.

The leaders were chosen, on the basis of recommendations by their camp counselors, as boys who had had leadership experience, held positions of responsibility in their troop, and were recognized as leaders by their peers. Before the group discussion they were taken aside and given instructions as participatory leaders.¹⁰ These instructions emphasized that the leader was to participate himself, to see that every member had a chance to speak, to keep the discussion moving so that a rating could be obtained in

⁶ The items of camping equipment are: pack, cook kit, sleeping bag, flashlight, waterproof match box, axe, compass, first aid kit, scout knife, and canteen.

⁷ The leader's opinion is omitted since his reaction to the discussion is on the average not the same as the followers, as the rank correlation data indicate.

⁸ Robert S. Woodworth, *Experimental Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938, pp. 372-375.

⁹ The interrelationships between questions 1, 2, and 3; 4 and 6; and 5 and 8 on the questionnaire are analyzed in the dissertation. Hare, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Malcolm Preston and Roy Heintz, "Effect of Participatory vs. Supervisory Leadership on Group Judgment," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 44 (July, 1949), 345.

1. Was

2. Did

3. Which

4. Did y

5. Do y

6. Durin

7. Who

8. Why

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Questions about the Discussion

1. Was there
 - A. too much
 - B. enough
 - C. too little time for the discussion?
2. Did you have
 - A. many
 - B. enough
 - C. not enough chances to speak?
3. Which statement describes your feeling about the group rating?
 - A. I think the order of equipment the group picked is the right one.
 - B. With a few exceptions, I agree with the group.
 - C. Although the group made a few wise choices they are off on the wrong track.
 - D. I think the group rating is all wrong.
4. Did your group tend to—
 - A. Break into three or more small groups during the discussion?
 - B. Break into two sides during the discussion?
 - C. Carry on the discussion as a single group?
5. Do you believe your opinion—
 - A. was important in reaching a group decision?
 - B. helped some in bringing the group to a decision?
 - C. didn't have any effect upon the group?
6. During the discussion did—
 - A. a few people speak, each representing the ideas of several others?
 - B. a few people speak representing only themselves?
 - C. just about everyone give his own idea?
7. Who seemed to have the most influence on the group decision?
 - A. The Leader.
 - B. The person with the most camping experience.
 - C. The person who talked the most.
 - D.
8. Why didn't you say more in the discussion?
 - A. I was afraid the group would make fun of my ideas.
 - B. I don't like to speak before so many people.
 - C. I couldn't think of anything to say.
 - D. I didn't know the other boys too well.
 - E. Most of the boys seemed to have ideas which were different from mine.
 - F. I was not particularly interested in the game.
 - G.

Name Troop
 Group Leader Date

twenty minutes. Thus the leader was thought of as an agent who helped facilitate the interaction of group members. To check this he was observed during the game and questioned on his methods in a post-experiment interview.

On the basis of a Thematic Apperception Test administered to all leaders, the leaders are classified in three groups representing a rough differentiation between their leadership potentials. These classifications of skill are:

1. Type A (good leaders)—Above average leaders. Boys who seem to be able to handle others of their age reasonably well and desire the status of leader.
2. Type B (average leaders)—Boys not very different from other Boy Scouts who are able to exercise authority in well-structured

situations where there is no great opposition from the followers.

3. Type C (poor leaders)—Boys who are either so maladjusted or so constricted and passive that they can be expected to have trouble even in a well-structured and supervised situation.¹¹

RESULTS

Seven major and three minor hypotheses concerning group size are tested in this research, three of which are not substantiated. Each of the hypotheses is stated below with the data which are related to it.

¹¹ The analysis of the TAT's was done by Lee Rainwater, a graduate student in Human Development at the University of Chicago, and TAT analyst for Social Research, Inc., of Chicago.

1. *As the size of a discussion group is increased from five to twelve members the amount of consensus resulting from group discussion will decrease.* *Sul O.K.*

The first and major hypothesis in this research is substantiated by the \bar{r}_{av} 's for each set of groups before and after discussion. The average amount of agreement before discussion is almost the same for both groups, about 0.37 (Table 1). This is an

TABLE 1. MEANS OF THE AVERAGE CORRELATION OF ALL RANK ORDERS BEFORE AND AFTER DISCUSSION OF THE FOLLOWERS IN GROUPS OF FIVE AND TWELVE

Group Size	Number of Groups	\bar{r}_{av} Before	\bar{r}_{av} After	Diff.
5	9	0.38	0.88	0.50
12	9	0.37	0.67	0.30

expected result since the followers in the different sized groups come from the same population with regard to their initial opinions about camping equipment. The average amount of agreement after discussion increases to 0.88 for the groups of five and 0.67 for the groups of twelve, a significant increase (at the 90 per cent level of significance) in both cases.¹² Furthermore, the average amount of change in consensus for the small groups (0.50) is significantly larger than the average amount of change in the large groups (0.30), thus substantiating the first hypothesis.¹³

¹² Differences between sets of \bar{r}_{av} data tested by using the "t" distribution and also a non-parametric "run test" (Alexander Mood, *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950, pp. 391-393) which makes no assumptions of normality were found to have a probability of <.02 of occurring by chance in every case.

¹³ A pre-test experiment was conducted in another camp with groups of five, seven, and ten Boy Scouts and, although the evidence is not conclusive because of the bias introduced by non-random factors in the sample, when the results of both experiments are combined the data do suggest that the trends for change in consensus and type of interaction as group size increases follow something other than a straight line function. The combined value of the \bar{r}_{av} After minus \bar{r}_{av} Before, for the groups of five, is 0.52. The pre-test value for groups of seven is 0.52 and for groups of ten 0.48. The groups of from five to ten appear to be fairly similar with a greater change occurring between ten and twelve.

- 1 a. *The followers in a group of five will change their opinion more toward consensus after discussion than those in a group of twelve.*

This supplementary hypothesis which is also substantiated describes the increase in consensus in the group in another way, this time in terms of the individual (Table 2).

TABLE 2. AVERAGE RANK ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR FOLLOWERS IN GROUPS OF FIVE AND TWELVE

Group Size	N	\bar{r}'_{12}	\bar{r}'_{23}	\bar{r}'_{13}
5	36	0.59	0.97	0.60
12	99	0.56	0.88	0.70

The average \bar{r}'_{12} for both groups of followers is about 0.57 with an actual difference of 0.04 which is not significant, reflecting, as did the \bar{r}_{av} which was computed before discussion, a general level of agreement among Boy Scouts about the importance of camping equipment. The \bar{r}'_{23} decreases significantly from 0.97 to 0.88 as the group size is increased, indicating less agreement with the group decision in the large groups, and the \bar{r}'_{13} increases significantly from 0.60 to 0.70 indicating less change of opinion in the large groups.

2. *Within groups of the same size the amount of change in consensus will be related to the leader's skill.* *Partial*

The second major hypothesis is only partially verified since the leader's skill has no predictive value in estimating the amount of change in consensus in the small groups; in fact, there is a negative relationship which approaches but does not reach significance (Table 3). However, in the groups of twelve there is a significant positive correlation be-

TABLE 3. AVERAGE CHANGE IN \bar{r}_{av} BY LEADER SKILL

Leader Skill	N	Average Change in \bar{r}_{av}
Groups of Five		
A. Good	3	0.39
B. Average	4	0.52
C. Poor	2	0.62
Groups of Twelve		
A. Good	4	0.41
B. Average	3	0.24
C. Poor	2	0.14

tween leader skill and the amount of change in consensus.¹⁴

3. *The leader in the group of five will have more influence in the group decision than the leader in the group of twelve.* *OK*

The data confirm the hypothesis that the leaders in the small groups will have more influence. The three rank order correlations for the leaders in the groups of five are all significantly higher than the corresponding correlations for the leaders in the groups of twelve (Table 4), indicating that the average

TABLE 4. AVERAGE RANK ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR LEADERS IN GROUPS OF FIVE AND TWELVE

Group Size	N	\bar{r}_{12}	\bar{r}_{23}	\bar{r}_{13}
5	9	0.85	0.98	0.91
12	9	0.64	0.91	0.78

leader in the group of five agrees with the group more before and after discussion and is more consistent with himself than is the average leader in the group of twelve. These higher correlations are only possible if the group rating is close to the leader's original ideas, thus confirming the hypothesis that the leaders in the small groups have more influence.

4. *Persons other than the leader will have more influence on the group when the group is large.* *not*

Hypothesis four is not substantiated since the responses to the questionnaire do not indicate that persons other than the leader have more influence in the larger group (Table 5). However, significant differences¹⁵

¹⁴ When the leaders in each group are ranked in order of ability and this rank order is compared with the group's rank for change in consensus, the resulting rank order coefficient is -0.53 for the small groups with a probability of $>.10$ and the r for the large groups is 0.85 with a probability of $<.01$.

¹⁵ A chi square test is used with the exact cell frequencies for the questionnaire data. In this case the value of chi square for the followers' responses is 6.44 with a probability of $<.10$ for three degrees of freedom. The chi square test is not appropriate for the leaders' data since some of the cell frequencies are less than two.

TABLE 5. PERSON MOST INFLUENCING GROUP DECISION

Group Size	N	Leader	Experienced Camper	Most Vocal Person	No One Person
Leaders					
5	9	34%	22%	22%	22%
12	9	22%	22%	45%	11%
Followers					
5	36	53%	28%	11%	8%
12	99*	56%	11%	22%	9%

* Two other comments

do appear in characteristics of other boys who tend to influence the group. The followers report that the boy with the most camping experience has more influence in the groups of five (28 per cent in groups of five compared with 11 per cent in groups of twelve) while the boy who talks the most has more influence in the groups of twelve (23 per cent in groups of twelve compared with 11 per cent in groups of five). The leaders also feel that the most vocal person is more of an influence in the large group.

5. *Given a limited period of time¹⁶ the members of a group of five will feel that they have enough time for discussion and therefore enough chance to speak while those in a group of twelve will feel that they have too little time to discuss the same problem.* *OK*

The differences in the feelings of leaders and followers substantiate the hypothesis about the amount of time for discussion. Both differences are significant in the direction of too little time for the large groups. Of the followers in the small groups, only 3 per cent report that they have too little time for discussion compared with 22 per cent in the larger groups. Moreover, in the small groups 80 per cent of the followers say that they have enough time compared

¹⁶ The time limit for the discussion is related to the ages of the followers and the subject of discussion. Although twenty minutes might curtail sharply the discussion of an adult group, it provides an adequate time for a group of adolescents. This is indicated by the fact that the average time used in discussion by the groups of five is about fifteen minutes.

with 59 per cent of those in the large groups. About the same proportion in each case say they have too much time, 17 and 19 per cent. Only 11 per cent of the leaders in the groups of five say there is too little time for discussion compared with 56 per cent of the leaders in the groups of twelve, and twice as many in the small groups report that they have enough or too much time.¹⁷ Thus, 22 per cent of the leaders in the groups of five report too much time, compared with 11 per cent of those in groups of twelve; and 67 per cent report enough time in the small groups compared with 33 per cent in the large groups.

The opinions of the group members are substantiated by the record of the actual time used for the discussion by each group. Six of the large groups used the full twenty minutes for discussion. The average time used in discussion by the small groups, 14.8 minutes, is significantly less than the average time used in the large groups, 18 minutes.

Question two on the questionnaire is also designed to give data for hypothesis five since a given unit of time for discussion will allow less opportunity to speak in a large group than it will in a small group. The results are in the expected direction, for 19 per cent of the followers in the small groups report that they have many chances to speak compared with only 8 per cent of the followers in the large groups, and only 6 per cent in the small groups say they do not have enough chance to speak compared with 14 per cent in the large groups—a significant difference. The proportion of followers reporting that they have enough chances to speak is almost the same—75 per cent in the small groups and 78 per cent in the large groups. There is a tendency for the leaders to report that they have more chances to speak in the smaller groups, but this difference is not significant.

¹⁷ For each table of data for the leaders it is necessary to collapse two categories so that the resulting two by two table may have expected frequencies of two or more in each cell and thus be suitable for the chi square test. In this case the responses "too much" and "enough" are combined. The two by two table is then corrected for continuity by bringing the observed values closer to the expected values by half a unit. R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1950, p. 93.

5 a. *Not enough chance to participate in the discussion will result in dissatisfaction with the discussion.* *546*

In general the hypothesis is substantiated since the individuals who do not have enough chance to speak are the ones who are dissatisfied, and there are more of these in the large groups. There is a significant increase in dissatisfaction with the results of the discussion for the followers as the group size is increased from five to twelve.

In the groups of five, 61 per cent of the followers think that the group rating is "correct," 39 per cent "agree with exceptions," and no one disagrees, while in the groups of twelve only 20 per cent feel that the rating is "correct," 63 per cent "agree with exceptions," 12 per cent say that the group made "a few wise choices but were off on the wrong track," and 5 per cent feel that the group is "all wrong." The leaders' opinions are in the same direction with none of the leaders evidencing dissatisfaction in the small groups compared with 22 per cent in the large groups.

6. *In the larger group members will tend not to participate as frequently because they feel that their opinion is not important for some reasons related to group size.* *Not*

The followers in the large groups feel that their opinions are less important to a significant degree, but the difference among the leaders, although in the expected direction, is not significant (Table 6). As a result, the hypothesis is only partially verified.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATION OF OWN INFLUENCE IN GROUP DECISION

Group Size	N	Important	Some Effect	No Effect
Leaders				
5	9	33%	67%	—
12	9	22%	56%	22%
Followers				
5	36	36%	55%	9%
12	99	19%	60%	21%

7. *The large group will tend to break into smaller factions.* *Not*

Both leaders and followers report that more factions exist in the large groups

(Table 7). However, the evidence is not conclusive since the followers' data approach

TABLE 7. FACTIONS INTO WHICH THE GROUP DIVIDED

Group Size	N	Three or More	Two Sides	No Division
Leaders				
5	9	—	22%	78%
12	9	22%	11%	67%
Followers				
5	36	5%	5%	90%
12	99*	14%	13%	71%

*Two non-respondents.

but do not reach significance, and the leaders' data are not significant.

7 a. *A factions develop in the large group, one for two persons will become spokesmen for these factions and the discussion will be carried on between them.*

Although the overall differences in the followers' estimates of the representativeness of the speaker's opinions are significant (Table 8) and 20 per cent of the followers

TABLE 8. REPRESENTATIVENESS OF SPEAKER'S OPINIONS

Group Size	N	Few Speak, Representing Several Others	Few Speak, Representing Themselves	Everyone Speaks For Self
Leaders				
5	9	33%	—	67%
12	9	—	—	100%
Followers				
5	36	16%	3%	81%
12	99	20%	13%	67%

in the large groups do report that spokesmen represent factions compared with only 16 per cent in the small groups, the evidence is not conclusive, and the hypothesis is not substantiated.

Since question six on the questionnaire was designed to get at factional vs. non-

factional discussion groups, the possibility that a few people might speak representing only themselves was included to make sure that the members did not confound this situation with the one in which some persons were spokesmen for factions. Therefore, to test this hypothesis, the responses that "a few people speak representing only themselves" are combined with the responses that "everyone speaks for himself" since both situations do not involve factions. The resulting chi square for this two by two table is not significant. In addition, although not tested since the chi square test is inappropriate for their data, the leaders' responses are contrary to the hypothesis.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT INTERACTION IN DIFFERENT SIZED GROUPS

A general picture of the changes in the nature of the interaction which occur as group size is increased is presented in the above hypotheses. As the size of a discussion group is increased from five to twelve members the degree of consensus resulting from the discussion decreases when the time for discussion is limited. Although the leaders in the small groups tend to have more influence on the group decision than do the leaders in the large groups, their individual skill as leaders is not an important factor. The large groups do, however, demand more skill from the leader, and in these groups the leader's skill is positively correlated with the amount of change in consensus.

Because of the larger number of members in the groups of twelve, each member has less time to speak. If an individual has a chance to present his ideas, even if they are not accepted, he is generally satisfied with the results of the discussion. Consequently, since the large group members have fewer chances to speak they are less satisfied. An additional way in which a larger group limits interaction among its members is that it increases the followers' feelings that their individual opinions are not important and therefore not worth presenting to the group.

As the group becomes larger than twelve members, the trend toward factionalism which is indicated in this research should become more apparent.

A COMPARISON OF ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF PAROLE PREDICTION*

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FOR a number of years there has been speculation concerning the relative merits of employing objective factors or responses reflecting attitudes as a basis for predicting parole outcome and selecting men for parole. In 1936, Ferris F. Laune, sociologist-actuary at the Stateville Branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary, published a study in which attitudes as revealed by responses to a questionnaire were used in combination with a number of objective factors to predict parole success or failure.¹ At the time the study was published the inmates tested had not been released on parole and, consequently, the predictive accuracy of this approach could not be evaluated in the light of actual parole outcome. Since that time, however, a large number of the men who answered the Laune questionnaire have been released on parole, and the parole outcomes are known. Scores on a parole experience table based solely on objective factors also are available for these men. The purpose of the present paper is to compare the relative accuracy of these two methods as a basis for predicting behavior on parole.

There has been a tendency in the parole field to confuse prediction with selection. Parole prediction requires a categorical statement of future parole success or failure for each man. Such predictions may be based, for example, on psychiatric diagnosis, personal hunch, or score on an experience table. The objective is to correctly classify men as expected successes or failures on parole, and the appropriate measure of success in prediction lies in the degree to which the errors of classification are minimized.

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in Chicago, September, 1951.

¹ Ferris F. Laune, *Predicting Criminality: Forecasting Behavior On Parole*, Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 1. Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1936.

Parole selection requires a decision which will promote the rehabilitation of offenders and provide, at the same time, an adequate measure of protection to society and the parole system. Probable parole outcome is one of the controlling criteria for achieving these ends. Where it is the major consideration, the cost of selection may be reduced by releasing as large a proportion of the potential successes and as low a proportion of the potential failures as possible. The extent to which this difference is maximized, for any specified proportion of paroles granted out of the total number of parole candidates considered, provides a useful measure for evaluating selections and the utility of different types of information in the parole selection process.

It is apparent that the nature of the task, the objectives, and the measures of success in prediction and selection are of a different character. In general, the information which is most useful in prediction will also be of greatest value in selection. However, an experience table which affords no predictive efficiency, in the sense of resulting in fewer prediction errors than would follow from a universal prediction of success or failure for all cases, may still have considerable value as a selection device. It will be useful as long as it permits, generally, the selection of a greater proportion of the potential successes and a lower proportion of the potential failures than could be achieved without it.

The present paper has been restricted to a comparison of the value of the Laune questionnaire data and the Burgess-type objective factor data in the prediction of success or failure on parole. A consideration of the selective utility of these two types of information will be reserved for later treatment.

Laune set out to investigate the belief that the estimates by inmates of the likelihood of success on parole of their fellow inmates provide a more accurate basis for pre-

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diction than the scores on formal prediction instruments. Four inmates were asked to furnish "hunch" estimates as to the likelihood of success on parole of 150 of their fellows. Parole outcome data are now available for 110 of these men. The outcome statistics disclose that 77 succeeded on parole, and 33 or 30 per cent violated parole by committing a new crime or by being returned for serious infractions of the parole rules. The predictive accuracy of the hunch estimates by the four inmates, W, X, Y, and Z, may be tested by making a categorical

sumed that the very fact that these men were ordered paroled implies that the Parole Board, if required to make a categorical prediction, would have predicted success in each individual case. This assumption is not contradicted by the fact that the Parole Board would, on statistical grounds, anticipate a certain proportion of failures for the group as a whole. Though unable to identify individual cases of failure, it would know from experience that some such cases would be included in the group. The number of errors resulting from a universal predic-

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF PREDICTION ERRORS AND EFFICIENCY IN PREDICTIONS BASED ON INMATE HUNCH ESTIMATES OF SUCCESS AND THE BURGESS EXPERIENCE TABLE

Prediction Source	Total Cases Predicted	Prediction Errors (Number)	Prediction Errors (Per Cent)	Violators (Number)	Violation Rate (Per Cent)	Predictive Efficiency (Per Cent)
Inmate W	104	28	26.9	30	28.8	6.7
Inmate X	110	32	29.1	33	30.0	3.0
Inmate Y	110	30	27.3	33	30.0	9.1
Inmate Z	66	23	34.8	20	30.3	-15.0
Inmate X & Y	110	31	28.2	33	30.0	6.1
Burgess Scores ^a	110	31	28.2	33	30.0	6.1

^a Predictions based on experience table (Table XXVII), p. 248 reported by Ernest W. Burgess, "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," in *The Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois* by Andrew A. Bruce, et. al., Illinois State Board of Parole, Springfield, 1928.

prediction of success for those inmates estimated to have a greater than 50 per cent chance of succeeding on parole and, conversely, predicting failure for those judged to have less than a 50 per cent chance of success.² The results are shown in Table 1. Inmate W predicted the outcome on parole of only 104 of the 110 cases for which outcomes are available. His estimates of the probability of success led to erroneous prediction in 28 or 26.9 per cent of the cases predicted. A further measure of W's achievement in minimizing the errors in prediction may be obtained by comparing his prediction errors to the errors which would result from a prediction of success for all of the cases. This is equivalent to comparing W's predictions with the predictions likely to be made by the Parole Board. It may be safely as-

sumed that the very fact that these men were ordered paroled implies that the Parole Board, if required to make a categorical prediction, would have predicted success in each individual case. This assumption is not contradicted by the fact that the Parole Board would, on statistical grounds, anticipate a certain proportion of failures for the group as a whole. Though unable to identify individual cases of failure, it would know from experience that some such cases would be included in the group. The number of errors resulting from a universal predic-

tion of success is equal to the number of violators in the sample. In the case of W, 30 or 28.8 per cent of the 104 cases violated parole. The predictive efficiency or percentage reduction in error of W's predictions as compared to a universal prediction of success is 6.7 per cent, as shown in last column of Table 1.³

³ For a more detailed account of the measure of predictive efficiency cf. Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (March 1949), pp. 441-451.

² Where the estimated probability of success is exactly 50%, half of the cases are predicted as successes and half as failures.

The last row in Table 1 shows the results of the predictions for the 110 cases based on the scores and probabilities of violation in the experience table prepared by E. W. Burgess in 1928.⁴ Use of the Burgess scores based on objective factors yields a predictive efficiency of 6.1 per cent, which compares favorably with the results achieved by the hunch estimates of individual inmates. Despite the fact that inmates X and Y were personally acquainted with their fellow inmates, their estimates concerning the likelihood of success on parole did not afford a more reliable basis for prediction than the scores and violation rates of the experience table based on objective factors.

In the Laune study the factors underlying the hunch estimates of inmates X and Y were drawn out in the course of extended discussions of the 150 cases. This led to the isolation of 54 attitudinal and objective factors, which were regarded as providing the basis for the hunch estimates. The 150 cases were then scored by the inmates as to the number of favorable and unfavorable factors which each man possessed. When the predictions of outcome are based on the combined hunch factor scores as judged by X and Y, the results (not shown in Table 1) yield a predictive efficiency of 9.1 per cent for the 110 men whose parole outcomes are available. It should be noted that the results given in Table 1 represent the predictive efficiency achieved on a follow-up sample since the probabilities of violation were established prior to parole. For the hunch factor scores, however, there existed no experience table for which probabilities of violation could be established in advance, and the prediction of success or failure had to be based on the actual score-specific violation rates of the 110 men. When the predictions from the scores on the Burgess experience table are similarly based on the actual score-specific violation rates of this sample, a predictive efficiency of 12.1 per cent is obtained. Thus, when compared to the hunch factor scores, the scores from the experience

table based on objective factors yield slightly superior results.

Once the 54 hunch factors had been isolated in the Laune study a rather exhaustive effort was directed toward devising questions which would adequately reflect each of the factors. A total of 1701 questions was formulated. By means of eliminating ambiguous questions, those which elicited untruthful responses, those not highly correlated with inmate hunches, and those in which the responses were not distributed in similar fashion in the various test groups, the number of questions was reduced to 161. These questions composed the final questionnaire, which was designed to reflect 36 factors regarded as useful in the prediction of parole outcome. This final questionnaire was administered routinely to all inmates at Stateville who appeared before the Parole Board from May, 1935 to September, 1936. In all, 961 subjects filled out the questionnaire. Of this number, 823 were released on parole; 634 completed a successful parole and 189 or 23 per cent violated parole.

For the purpose of the present analysis, this group of 823 parolees was divided into two samples in order to use the first as an experience group and the second as a follow-up group. Accordingly, the 405 individuals paroled on or before August 15, 1936, were taken to constitute Sample A; the 418 individuals paroled after this date constituted Sample B. A few of the men in Sample B were paroled as late as 1946. Thus Sample B represents a group paroled later in time than Sample A—the situation which arises in actual practice—rather than a random half of the total group. In Sample A, 107 or 26.4 per cent of the cases violated parole, and in Sample B, 82 or 19.6 per cent of the cases violated parole.

The predictive efficiencies characteristic of various predictive instruments constructed on the experience of Sample A and validated on Sample B are shown in Table 2. In the first comparison, the distribution of violation rates by score groups on the Laune questionnaire for the 405 men in Sample A permitted a percentage reduction in error of 3.7 per cent. However, when predictions were made for Sample B, based on the cutting score derived from Sample A, there occurred a drop in predictive efficiency to —2.4 per

⁴ Ernest W. Burgess, "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole" in *The Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois* by Andrew A. Bruce et al., Illinois State Board of Parole, Springfield, 1928, Table XXVII, p. 248.

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cent as compared with a universal prediction of success for Sample B. Scores were also available for all the cases in Samples A and B based on the original Burgess experience table⁵ for Joliet cases. After determination of the prediction cutting score on the basis of the score-specific violation rates in Sample A, as was done with the Laune questionnaire scores, the table yields a predictive efficiency of 0.9 per cent for Sample A. When predictions based on this cutting score are made for Sample B, the predictive efficiency drops to -6.1 per cent, indicating an increase in errors of prediction over those which result

Sample A and 408 cases in Sample B, for which the violation rates were 27.1 per cent and 19.4 per cent respectively.

The critical ratios disclosed that seven of the 36 factors were negatively related to outcome in Sample A. When these factors were dropped from the scoring, predictive efficiency was increased to 5.7 per cent in Sample A, but decreased to -7.6 per cent in Sample B. This result is shown on row 2 of Table 2.

Seven of the Laune factors were found to be significant at the one per cent level. Two of these factors, however, were highly cor-

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGES OF PREDICTIVE EFFICIENCY CHARACTERISTIC OF VARIOUS PREDICTION INSTRUMENTS BASED ON THE LAUNE QUESTIONNAIRE AND OBJECTIVE FACTORS

Prediction Instrument	Sample A		Sample B	
	Laune Questionnaire	Objective Factors	Laune Questionnaire	Objective Factors
1. Total Questionnaire Scores	3.7	0.9	-2.4	-6.1
2. Questionnaire Scores Less Negative Factors	5.7		-7.6	
3. Factors Significant at 1% Level	7.6	25.7	-17.7	-77.2
4. Factors Significant at 5% Level	10.5	27.6	-5.1	-6.3
5. Categories Significant at 1% Level		30.5		-39.2
6. Categories Significant at 5% Level		30.5		-32.9
7. Three Efficient Factors	11.4		-2.5	
8. Five Efficient Factors	12.4	27.6	1.3	-64.6
9. Eight Efficient Factors	14.3		-8.9	

from a universal prediction of success for Sample B. The initial predictive efficiency in either case is very low and both instruments fail to maintain efficiency in the follow-up sample.

In order to evaluate the significance of the individual factors, critical ratios were obtained for the 36 factors in the Laune questionnaire, based on the parole outcome for the cases in Sample A. These are listed in Table 3. Seventeen of the data sheets for Sample A and ten of the data sheets for Sample B were discovered to be missing. Thus, subsequent analyses of the factors and questions, as well as the resulting prediction tables, were based on 388 cases in

related, factors 32 and 33 in Table 3. Accordingly, factor 32 was dropped and the cases in Sample A were scored on the remaining six factors. This procedure resulted in an increase of predictive efficiency in Sample A to 7.6 per cent, but the predictive efficiency in Sample B decreased considerably, to -17.7 per cent.

The 12 Laune factors which were significant at the five per cent level were also used as a basis for scoring Sample A. This prediction table increased predictive efficiency in Sample A to 10.5 per cent, and the negative predictive efficiency in Sample B (-5.1 per cent) was not as great as when only factors significant at the one per cent level were used.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Table XXVII, p. 248.

TABLE 3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FACTORS IN THE LAUNE QUESTIONNAIRE BASED ON THE 388 CASES IN SAMPLE A

Factor*	Critical Ratio
1. Intelligence	1.03
2. Absence of Stupidity	0.69
3. Timidity	2.08
4. Absence of Foolhardiness	2.54
5. Absence of Weak Character	0.88
6. Shrewdness	0.00
7. Selfishness	-0.98
8. Lack of Conceit	1.95
9. Absence of Love of Comfort	-1.42
10. Religiosity	1.77
11. Absence of Tendency to Agitate	0.84
12. Absence of Failure to Learn Lesson	0.58
13. Absence of Sharp Practices	1.19
14. Absence of Positive Wasserman	-2.42
15. Absence of Physical Defects	-0.65
16. Absence of Laziness	1.31
17. Previous Work Record	2.77
18. Trade	0.40
19. Absence of Lack of Working Ability	0.00
20. Absence of Desire for Clothes	2.92
21. Absence of Wanderlust	0.40
22. Absence of Broken Family	1.99
23. Family Ties	1.24
24. Rural Type	-2.22
25. Happily Married	1.69
26. Good Environment	2.06
27. Absence of Bad Environment	1.59
28. Absence of Criminality in Family	-0.04
29. Absence of Recidivism	4.02
30. Absence of Good Job in Prison	0.22
31. Absence of Minor Racketeering	3.66
32. Favorable Age Relation	3.45
33. Absence of Unfavorable Age Relation	3.17
34. Break in Criminal Record	-0.57
35. Long Time to Serve on Maximum	0.47
36. Absence of Short Time to Serve on Maximum	0.52

* For the factor definitions, questions relating to each factor, and the system of scoring responses, see Laune, *op. cit.*

The results obtained by scoring only the significant factors in the Laune questionnaire were compared with similar prediction tables based on significant Burgess-type objective factors. Data sheets were available which provided information about the 388 cases in Sample A and the 408 cases in Sample B on 27 objective factors corresponding to those employed by Burgess. These 27 factors provided the basis for routine parole predictions in Illinois beginning in 1938.⁶ Critical

⁶ For a list of these 27 factors and their sub-categories see, Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Selection For Parole*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1951, Appendixes E and F, pp. 122-129.

ratios for these 27 factors were obtained for the cases in Sample A. Seven factors proved to be significant at the one per cent level and one additional factor at the five per cent level. Two of the factors significant at the one per cent level were highly correlated and one was eliminated for the first test. Scoring the cases in Sample A on the six remaining factors significant at the one per cent level resulted in a predictive efficiency of 25.7 per cent, but application of this table to the cases in Sample B resulted in a predictive efficiency of -77.2 per cent. When all eight of the factors significant at the five per cent level were used to score the cases in Sample A, predictive efficiency increased to 27.6 per cent. For Sample B, this battery of factors resulted in an efficiency of -6.3 per cent. The results obtained with the batteries of factors significant at the one per cent level and five per cent level may be found in rows 3 and 4 of Table 2. It is apparent that the objective factor tables yield a higher predictive efficiency than the Laune factors in Sample A, but show a greater loss in efficiency in Sample B.

A further effort was made to improve the efficiency of the objective factor batteries by scoring each case on the basis of the difference between the favorable and unfavorable categories significant at the one per cent level. Ten factors were found to include categories significant at this level. The results shown on row 5 of Table 2 disclose a predictive efficiency of 30.5 per cent in Sample A and a negative efficiency of -39.2 per cent for Sample B. A total of 16 factors had sub-categories significant at the five per cent level. As shown in row 6 of Table 2, this led to a predictive efficiency of 30.5 per cent in Sample A and an efficiency of -32.9 per cent in Sample B. In both of these batteries the increased efficiency in Sample A is obtained at the expense of an excessive loss of efficiency in Sample B.

An attempt was also made with the Laune factors to employ only those factors and questions in the questionnaire which would contribute most to the predictive efficiency of the final table. Accordingly, the questions composing each of the Laune factors were analyzed individually and in combination. This analysis resulted in the setting up of three batteries composed of three, five, and

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eight efficient factors. A factor was termed efficient if predictions based on the violation rates for the subclasses of the factor reduced the errors of prediction as compared with a prediction of success for all cases. Scoring of the cases in Sample A on these three batteries of factors netted predictive efficiencies of 11.4 per cent, 12.4 per cent and 14.3 per cent, respectively, as shown on rows 7, 8 and 9 of Table 2. On Sample B the three factor and eight factor batteries resulted in a negative efficiency of -2.5 per cent and -8.9 per cent, respectively. The five factor battery, however, retained a positive efficiency of 1.3 per cent.

A battery composed of five efficient factors was also obtained from analysis of the objective factor data for Sample A. As shown in row 8 of Table 2, the scoring of the cases netted a predictive efficiency of 27.6 per cent for this battery of factors in Sample A, but in Sample B a drop to -64.6 per cent efficiency occurred.

Certain general observations and conclusions may be made on the basis of the results presented in the foregoing discussion.

1. It is apparent from Table 1 that the score-specific probabilities of violation furnished by formal experience tables based on objective factors provide as adequate a basis for the prediction of behavior on parole as the hunches of inmates concerning the probable success or failure on parole of their fellow inmates. This also appears to be true where the inmate hunches take the form of judging the presence or absence of relevant factors in the cases of fellow inmates.

2. The prediction instruments in Table 2 based on the Laune data and those based on objective factors afford reasonably accurate prediction. The percentages of error are not shown in Table 2, but for the Laune data they range from 23.2 per cent to 25.5 per cent error for Sample A, and 19.1 per cent to 22.8 per cent for Sample B. For the objective factors, the percentages of error range from 18.8 to 26.2 for Sample A, and 20.6 to 34.3 for Sample B. However, when these errors are compared with the errors which result from a universal prediction of success, it is apparent that predictions for new cases based on the experience tables are not as accurate as the predictions implied by the Parole Board's decision to grant parole.

As pointed out in an article by Ohlin and Duncan,⁷ this effect reflects the operation of three major sources of error: sampling fluctuations, lack of association between the predictive factors and outcome in the population, and errors correlated with time. The results in Table 2 suggest that the use of significant and efficient factors would give the best predictability if the conditions of parole in the follow-up sample remained essentially the same as those in the test group from which the experience table was prepared. The lack of association between the predictive factors and outcome is indicated by the fact that the median tetrachoric coefficient of correlation for 29 of the Laune factors in Sample A was .18, and only two of the Laune factors and one of the objective factors were efficient in Sample A. The effect of errors correlated with time is evidenced by the consistent drop in association of the Laune factors with outcome from Sample A to Sample B. The twelve factors significant at the five per cent level exhibit a median loss of .14 in correlation from Sample A to Sample B.

The decrease from Sample A to Sample B in the total violation rate and in the association of the factors with outcome undoubtedly reflected changes in the policies of parole selection and supervision, better employment opportunities, and general changes in social conditions for a parolee during wartime. If the association of the factors with outcome had remained stable, the declining total violation rate would have been reflected in a shift in the proportional distribution of the new cases among the various score groups. Instead, the decrease in total violation rate appeared in lower violation rates for each of the score groups. This placed the prediction cutting score derived from Sample A in an incorrect position to give the best prediction for Sample B. It would thus appear that predictive efficiency can be maintained in the face of a declining violation rate only when factors are obtained which have a high and stable association with parole outcome, and routine readjustments of the cutting score are made at frequent short-run intervals of time.⁸

⁷ Ohlin and Duncan, *op. cit.*

⁸ A procedure for effecting periodic routine readjustments of the experience table is described in

It is apparent that the level of predictive efficiency is a function of the total violation rate. In general, predictive efficiency will tend to be high when the violation rate is high and low when the violation rate is low. The measure of predictive efficiency is thus an appropriate index of the utility of prediction instruments and factors at specified levels of total violation. The lack of a unique method for standardizing prediction instruments at any given level of total violation prohibits the use of this measure as a method for comparing the "intrinsic" predictive value of different instruments apart from their performance in specific situations.

Due to the lack of highly discriminating factors it is difficult to achieve predictive efficiency when the violation rate is low. When the total violation rate is 50 per cent, a trait need only occur significantly more often among the violators than the successes in order to be efficient. However, when the violation rate is 20 per cent, a trait must occur more than four times as often among the violators as among the successes in order to be efficient. This fact helps to account for the failure of predictive instruments to retain their efficiency in new samples of cases where the total violation rate is decreasing.

3. A third general observation concerning the results reported in Table 2 is that the objective factors yielded considerably greater efficiency in Sample A than did the Laune factors, but lower efficiency in Sample B. It would appear that the objective factors are more discriminating but less stable than the Laune factors. Closer examination of the Laune factors alone afford some interesting observations in this connection. As mentioned previously, the Laune prediction factors included both objective factors and factors reflecting attitudes. Fifteen out of the 36 factors in the final questionnaire may properly be called objective, and five out of the seven Laune factors which were significant at the one per cent level were objective. The prediction instrument based on five efficient Laune factors is the only table which retains efficiency in the follow-up sam-

ple. Four of these factors reflect attitudes and the fifth is the objective factor, *Absence of Recidivism*. However, this factor is the most efficient of all of the Laune factors and by itself achieves a predictive efficiency of 5.7 per cent in Sample A and 1.3 per cent in Sample B, thus accounting for almost as much efficiency in Sample B as the five factors taken together. It thus appears that objective factors tend to be more discriminating than the reflections of attitudes which may be obtained from questionnaire responses, and in some instances even more stable.

4. In several instances in Table 2 the gain or loss in predictive efficiency appears to be insignificant. The sampling distribution of the index of predictive efficiency is not known, but previous investigation⁹ indicates that random fluctuations ranging from 4 to 13 percentage points may occur with samples of size 300-600. Conclusions based on some of the small differences noted in Table 2 must accordingly remain of a tentative and hypothetical character.

5. In general, where the total violation rates are low and the trend is toward further decrease in rates in subsequent samples, the type of information provided by the customary objective factors and the attitudinal factors developed by Laune fails to increase the accuracy of prediction of parole outcome over that which could be achieved without this information.

As previously indicated, the foregoing analysis has been concerned solely with the value of experience tables prepared from the Laune data and from objective factors as a basis for predicting parole behavior. For the purpose of obtaining consistently efficient prediction of parole outcome in circumstances like those in the groups studied, these experience tables as currently constituted are of little value.

In the related problem of parole selection, however, studies now in progress have already indicated that these data are of considerable value. It is our intention, in the near future, to report an evaluation of the respective contributions of objective and attitudinal factors to selective efficiency.

Ohlin, *Selection For Parole*, *op. cit.*, Appendix D, pp. 119-121.

⁹ Ohlin and Duncan, *op. cit.* p. 444.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION OF MONETARY MEANINGS IN THE CHILD*

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THIS paper is organized in three parts, corresponding to three presentations. The first part considers a method (scale analysis) for studying concept development in the child when it is suspected that fairly regular patterns of advance occur. This method was presented in two earlier papers,¹ but is here discussed with the modifications necessary for application to more complex concepts. In the second part the cumulative development of a number of interrelated monetary meanings or concepts is traced in considerable detail. In the third part several summary points are made about the character of conceptual development.

SCALE ANALYSIS AND DEVELOPMENT

Sixty-six business class children in Bloomington, Indiana were studied. Five boys and five girls at each age (four and a half to eleven and a half years) were interviewed, except at the lowest where three of each sex were interviewed.

The schedule, containing seventy-one questions, was administered in four sittings, each lasting between fifteen and thirty minutes. The entire interview of each child was completed within a month.²

Items were scored by arbitrary weighting. Each child's responses to every item were scored, and children were arrayed in rank order by total score. Scale analysis of the

Cornell type was applied. With few exceptions, the items were scalable.³ The prediction error (second approximation) was 6 per cent.

Departure was made from the usual method of isolating scale types. Ordinarily, types are found by placing cutting points wherever there is a shift in scoring weight per item. This procedure, with seventy-one items, would have led to a bewildering array of types. Moreover, various clusters of items were passed almost simultaneously; i.e., certain items were about the same order of difficulty. For instance, children who scored between 85 and 89 points passed a number of items which children below 85 points failed. The final cutting point for these particular items was placed closest to the cutting points for the majority of these items. This procedure is equivalent to discarding all but one item from among several which have approximately identical cutting points. These latter items could have been discarded and the same scale type isolated. Since isolation of types is only part of our purpose, all items were retained.

The clustering of cutting points yielded nine usable scale types (Table 1).⁴

Aside from yielding scale types, the scalogram is very useful for tracing how the response organization typical of each level is built upon, and absorbs earlier materials, while yet being qualitatively different from that of preceding levels. Analysis of items

* Paper delivered at the annual meeting of American Sociological Society, in Chicago, September 1951.

¹ K. Schuessler, co-author: "Study of Concept Learning by Scale Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (1950), pp. 752-62, and "Socialization, Logical Reasoning, and Concept Development in the Child," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (1951), pp. 514-523.

² Correlation between two independent scorings was .99. Each section of the schedule was given twice to ten children at all age levels except the youngest and oldest. There was a 2 per cent difference between test and retest responses. On only two items was there as much as 8 per cent change.

³ Responses to three non-scalable items were usable since the errors fell within a range of two scale types. There were nine items that everyone passed and one that everyone failed. These are discussed respectively under Stages 1 and 9. These latter items, which of course scaled perfectly, were not included in calculating prediction error.

⁴ No brief is held for absolute stability of these types, even for another sample drawn from the same population.

Correlation between chronological age and response level was .9. Sex differences as judged by the t test were barely significant at the 5 per cent level of significance, boys scoring slightly higher.

passed at each stage gave an initial rough developmental comparison. Since there might be several ways of failing and passing any given item, the answers for every item were scrutinized separately, individual by individual and stage by stage. Often more types of response were found per item than the original scoring categories revealed. Post-scaling scrutiny made possible finer discriminations than appear in the scalogram itself. Their isolation is important for getting details of development. It is especially important to watch items passed late, reading back

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES IN THE MEANINGS OF MONEY

Sub-Stage. The genesis of monetary meaning can be placed some months below the age of our youngest subjects. About ten children (age 3 to 4½ years), not part of the formal investigation, were also studied, and we shall discuss them, referring mainly to the youngest of this group.

Although these children distinguish between money and other objects such as buttons, the maximum distinction they can

TABLE 1. SCALE TYPES

Stage	Scores	Number of Subjects	Number of Errors	Prediction Error Percentage	Age Range in Years and Months	Median Age in Years and Months
I	21-39	7	23	6	4.8- 5.11	5.4
II	50-64	5	20	7	6.0- 6.11	6.5
III	65-73	5	23	7	5.9- 7.2	6.3
IV	79-87	4	36	16	6.0- 6.11	6.5
V	89-112	6	38	11	6.0- 8.9	7.10
VI	118-123	5	21	7	7.5- 9.8	8.7
VII	124-133	17	72	7	6.8-10.6	8.9
VIII	135-138	6	7	1	8.4-11.0	9.9
IX	140-144	11	5	1	9.7-11.6	11.2

stage by stage to see how the children, although failing the item, gradually approach the point where they can pass it, or whether transition to passing the item is sudden without much progress from beginning to end. An item failed, but failed with more maturity than previously, may be important to the passage of another item; and if the more mature failure is not discriminated from the less, one may miss the connection entirely.

The scalogram also makes possible the addition of items representing other aspects of the general concept being studied. (For instance, questions having to do with "saving" could be given to children along with some of the questions on buying and selling from the present schedule.) Children can be ranked, and scale types found, on the basis of answers to each set of questions. Then their conceptual levels in each area can be compared.⁵ There is scarcely any end to the process of cross comparison and addition.

⁵ Forty-one subjects were given the "equivalence test" reported upon in previous studies. This allowed comparison between what children of

make between coins is that there is a penny and something else not a penny. They cannot even consistently match pairs of coins identical to those put forward by the investigator. If asked which of two coins they would rather have, they chose the higher only by chance, or because greater size happens to correspond to greater value.

Handling of coins is characterized mainly by its playful character. An infant will put a coin in his mouth, suck on it, remove it and place it on the floor, touch it, and so on. Children of three and four years pile the coins, group, and push them, and scatter them around. They may place coins in their pockets, pile copper and silver separately, pile coins in many groups of two and two, or, as the idea of counting begins to become

given scale types on the present schedule would be doing if scaled on the schedule used in the preceding study. These materials are utilized below.

Retesting of children on the equivalence test, incidentally, checked the stability of results previously reported. The developmental picture is identical and the age progression approximately the same.

associated with coins, attempt to count them.

Presumably the youngest children may not realize that money is connected with buying. They may move toward that comprehension by only vaguely recognizing that money has to do with buying. Thus a four year old knows that candy is in stores. I suggest to him that we buy some. He stands up, walks to the side of the room, reaches, puts an imaginary something into his mouth and licks it, returns and hands me a piece, waiting for me to lick it too. We do this several times. My money lies visibly on the ground and is not used, nor are any of my suggestions about money taken up. Later he suggests that we play store again. He says "money," so I take out the money. He puts it in front of me, then again goes through the routine of getting and licking the candy.

The older children of this group may understand that a given coin, usually a penny, is involved in buying, yet may deny that any other coin has anything to do with buying. When one plays store with them the selling and buying roles can merge, overlap, and disappear, as with Bruce who wishes to play buying animal crackers. I give Bruce a cracker; he returns an indiscriminate coin, then he handles all the crackers and money, talks at length about crackers, pennies, dollars, stores, moving from subject to subject and role to role.

Stage 1 (4.8-5.11; median 5.4 years). The child distinguishes nickels from other silver but still cannot name all remaining coins correctly. He is unable to match consistently, on a sensorimotor (color-size) basis, pairs of coins put forth by the investigator. He has preferences for coins, based upon rote memory or upon the coin's greater size. He prefers one pile of coins to another if it seems to have more things in it or if it contains a single large coin.

Moreover it is now understood that money has to do with buying. "Spend it. That's what money's for." If one were to take candy from stores without giving money that would not be right. This rule has no further rationale than "That's the way." If disregarded, "You'd be put in jail, that's all."

Money has to do with buying but any coin buys anything. A nickel buys a five

cent candy but also a seven cent candy. There is no rationale for it buying either, beyond that it does. Money thus buys things, and provided money accompanies transactions, then transactions take place.

Both store keeper and customer handle money during this transaction. In fact they pay each other. "The storekeeper wants to give me money, and I give him money." Does the storekeeper then give candy? "Of course he does!"

Primitive rules representing initial notions of value sometimes govern this mutual payment. Such rules or rudimentary rationales have to do with size and number of coins returned or objects bought. The child may give four coins for four objects, or two coins for a small candy and four for a large. When playing storekeeper, he may return to the customer two coins for two paid him, or three coins for three objects purchased. They may pay a penny for a small candy, a nickel for a larger, and a quarter for the largest. An example of this last rule: Peter bought a large candy from Jane. Jane gave him a quarter. He gave her some coins. Then she gave him candy, observing, "He gave me these two pennies. Each have to pay, don't they?" Peter strayed off, then rushed back saying, "I forgot to give the quarter!", thrust the quarter upon Jane, grabbed the two pennies from her, saying, "And I take these two pennies." Peter had suddenly noticed that he had bought a large "quarter candy" but had not paid a quarter for it. This awful realization dominated the moment to the exclusion of exact details of the preceding transaction.

Storekeepers place money paid them into cash registers. Since they have no genuine sense of value yet, the children do not reason that the money is put there because the storekeeper otherwise fears its loss. Either they do not consider what happens to the money, or they reason that with it the storekeeper pays his next customers. Money thus circulates from customer to storekeeper and thence to the next customer. "You take out and give to people. To buy something. You have to give money if you're a storekeeper"; or "When they buy stuff. Let people keep it and then they buy stuff with it. That keeps going on that way"; or, even, in reverse forms such as, "When people can't buy, he

gives them some and they have to give some then to him"; "Some people comes and the storekeeper gives to them. He has to give 'em money else they couldn't buy what they wanted." The function of money is, thus, to accompany and in some way make possible the transaction.

The customer buys goods and both he and the storekeeper pay each other. Only the customer buys goods, the storekeeper never does. Monetary activity is confined to buying and selling. Although one storekeeper may help another sell, the distinction between owner and employee is unclear and is not involved in the buying-selling transaction. There are no other roles such as "maker". When asked from where the goods came originally, the child may say he does not know or may suggest that the storekeeper got them from another store. If then asked where that storekeeper got his goods, they retreat into "from another storekeeper." In this particular context, they may feel that the storekeeper buys, rather than gets, the goods from the other storekeeper; whereas when asked directly whether the storekeeper does or can buy from another store, they deny that possibility, not yet perceiving that the storekeeper may also be a customer.

They believe that money can be bought in stores; since you pay and the storekeeper pays, you buy the money. There is as yet no differentiation between obtaining goods in a store by paying for them and buying coins with coins themselves.

Stage 2 (6.0-6.8; median 6.5). The children now name all United States coins on the basis of colors and sizes. Sensorimotor matching of investigator's coins is exact. It is recognized that nickels buy more candy than pennies, and dimes more than nickels or pennies. Such recognition is based on rote memory. Much greater attention is being paid to the appearance of the coin itself.

Now that a nickel will buy somewhat more than a penny and somewhat less than a dime, what can a nickel buy? It buys a five cent object. That is all. It cannot buy a two, three, four, six, or seven cent object. A given coin buys only its exact equivalent. Carrie is asked, "Suppose you have a nickel and come here and there is a candy marked one cent, can you buy it?" "No, it doesn't

cost that much. We could go home and get another piece of money which is a penny."

It follows logically that if exact coin is paid for exact price, customers would receive no change from the storekeepers. The children do not reason thus. They go on assuming that the storekeeper always gives money as part of the transaction. The mechanics of this change-making are perhaps a trifle less primitive than those of the previous stage: "Because he looks on the groceries and puts 'em in the bag"; "They know what you're going to buy"; "They add."

Two children had progressed to the recognition that storekeepers did not always return money. The children were not embarrassed by the implications of this recognition, not even when forced to survey the contradictory facts simultaneously. Thus one child maintained storekeepers do not always give money back "cause sometimes your money isn't enough; if it's enough, you get it back." (When does he give it back?) "If you give enough, like if I give you a quarter or dollar or dime, you give me back some because that's enough." (If I have a quarter, can I buy a nickel candy?) "No, cause that's more than five."

At best the answers are in terms of "too much" and "not enough." Comparative values are gross, not mathematically ordered. Hence although a seven cent candy is too expensive for a nickel to buy, the operations by which this conclusion is reached are quite other than adult ones. When the child says that a nickel is worth five cents, he may maintain in quick succession that a nickel will not buy a three cent candy and that a pile of five pennies will buy the candy if one uses only three pennies of the available five.

Furthermore, the children do not yet comprehend why the customer may not take the goods from the store without paying. They are asked why the storekeeper does not give the goods away. Their answers are not in terms of loss of value to the storekeeper. Either they do not know the correct answer or give reasons like, "if it's free he will" or "he doesn't like the customers."

Nonetheless, advance in conception is discernible. Payment for goods is now general, regardless of who buys or where the transaction occurs. Not only is there a maker, but most of the children understand that

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the storekeeper must pay him, otherwise he does not get the goods. He must pay exact coin for exact price. There is no rationale beyond that he must, else no transaction occurs. Some children realize that when the storekeeper buys he is simultaneously storekeeper and customer, although how two roles can be played simultaneously remains un verbalized. The maker himself may spend money paid him, even in the store of the storekeeper who bought from him.

The money paid the storekeeper may be utilized not merely to repay customers or to buy goods, but may be siphoned off to fulfil his and his family's wants. Hence he may now buy in other stores, becoming thereby a customer. Both maker and storekeeper are satisfying their own wants rather than merely fulfilling customer wants. However, customer's satisfaction is still predominant; children, as they begin to recognize that the storekeeper works all day instead of merely when he wishes, say that he works all day so that customers can be fed.

Previously, money circulated from customer through storekeeper to succeeding customers. Money now has a more genuine circulation. Money travels from customer to storekeeper to maker, and then perhaps to another storekeeper. Money does not merely accompany each transaction, but in some sense makes them possible. Things are not merely bought but are worth something, and are bought with their exact correspondence in coinage. Although the meaning of value is limited, it is part and parcel of acts of buying by customer, storekeeper, and maker.

Helper-owner roles are not clearly seen as employer-employee roles yet, since money is not yet conceived as worth "services." But comprehension is beginning when a child denies that the helper gets paid and adds, "At night they see how much. If one has more, he gives him a little more"; or when a child says that helpers get paid because then "they can buy groceries from other stores." Hence the circulation of money is limited to customer, storekeeper, and maker roles.

Stage 3 (5.9-7.2; median 6.3). Further growth in awareness that transactions are mathematical in character is observable. Yet such mathematics are crude; numbers are not related precisely to other numbers.

The children are beginning to maintain that a nickel cannot buy a seven cent candy, not merely because seven is not exactly five but because it is more. How much more is needed, then, to buy the seven cent candy? A nickel is not enough. Another nickel is the next big unit that takes one beyond the seven cent mark. Transition between the inflexibility of coin-object correspondence may be seen when Vicki maintains a nickel, or even two, will buy a three cent object. Asked which was worth more, a nickel or three cents, she answered correctly. But the questioning focused attention on the "more-less" equation, so she then declared that a nickel cannot buy a three cent candy, for only exactly three cents can.

It is now recognized that change is not always given by storekeepers. Reasons are couched in personal terms: "Sometimes he wants to keep it for himself." Recently discovered personal motives may be incorrectly applied: "He wants to get rich. That's not against the law to get rich." The customer presumably does not mind; he too is beginning to accept "getting rich" as reasonable motivation.

The children are beginning to perceive a connection between money paid by and to the customer. "Cause he sees how much I gave him and he gives it to me," "Maybe he gives back the same as people gave him." Certain coins require change making, others do not. "Give him a dime and you get a nickel back. If you give a nickel they don't give it back." Also the price of the object is beginning to be taken into account. "There's three on the candy's paper and you get three pennies back."

What is required, so that the child may avoid giving these bizarre amounts of change, is that he understand that the amount of change returned is related both to the price of the object and to the amount paid. Although this subtractive operation is not grasped, the children are beginning to recognize that both storekeeper and customer are interested in watching the change making.

That money can buy services as well as objects is partly recognized. This goes hand in hand with clearer emergence of owner and helper. When asked how storekeepers become storekeepers, they tend to assume that

you mean "owners." Storekeepers can now work in stores while the real owner is absent, and he will pay them for working. However, the essentials of employer-employee relations are still far from learned. This is shown both by denial that a man can own a store and not work in it at all, and by general insistence that helpers keep some money paid across the counter to them by customers. But payment is for objects or for working, not merely for buying; customers no longer get paid merely for buying.

This reasoning is not extended to the maker who, still on the periphery of the buying-selling act, functions merely as an initiator of the transaction. Moreover, he still uses the money paid him merely to buy in stores, not to pay for materials or services of employees. So only some, not all, goods and services are related to a monetary standard.

Monetary meanings now become linked with extensions of motive. Storekeepers are beginning to sell "to make money" or "to get rich." This merely means having a lot of money to buy a lot of things. Yet these motivations for selling—storekeepers are now selling all day long rather than just whenever they wish—mark an advance beyond the notions that storekeepers merely serve customers or sell merely because they like to sell. This extension of motive presumably makes for extension of acts; the scene is being set for the emergence of long-range monetary planning.

Stage 4 (6.0–6.11; median 6.5). Awareness that money is central to buying continues to develop. During this stage the final groundwork is being laid for true mathematical and monetary relations.

In previous stages virtually all children, when asked whether storekeeper or customer felt better after buying a three cent candy for a nickel, answered "customer, he gets the candy." Now money as a value is beginning to tell; half the children think the storekeeper feels better because he gets more money. This tendency continues ever more strongly in succeeding stages.

Some of the children now betray more tendency to focus on the relation between money paid by and money returned to customers. Previously, children were content to give a nickel for a three cent purchase and

receive a nickel in return, even the identical nickel. Now they are beginning to reject the same or other nickels, saying, "You gave the same money back!" and "You'd have to give back another kind." However, they may accept any other coin(s) including five pennies. A dime or two nickels may be rejected but a single nickel accepted. A more sophisticated and revealing response occurs when the child rejects five pennies and the nickel, as well as any higher coin, on the ground that he should not receive so much money. He will, however, accept four cents—less than he himself paid. The complex relationship between price of object, amount paid, and amount of change, still is not glimpsed, but the notion that money received must be less than is paid appears to be transitional.

Further understanding of money as a value is seen in answers to why customers must pay for goods. Instead of taking the form, "Because you can't," or "You'd be punished," answers are beginning to be couched in terms of loss to the storekeeper. "It costs a lot of money to get it," and "If you're earning money and somebody took it, it would be stealing; it wouldn't be earning." Neither child, quoted above, was able to verbalize what he meant by cost and earning. So, beyond the recognition that the storekeeper would lose out, the mechanics of loss are unclear. Appropriately, the children still cannot account for the reason that the storekeeper must pay the maker for goods which the latter, in turn, buys.

Some children still are not seeing any discrepancy between owners paying helpers for services and helpers retaining portions of money given them by customers. Others reason that workers work for payment and that owners pay them with part of the customers' money, using the remainder for other purposes. Hence there is a type of gross subtractive operation—worker's money subtracted from customers' money leaves some money for other purposes. A corollary is that the customer pays for goods alone, so that only the owner of goods gets paid by the customer. Thus there is further development in articulation of collaborative efforts of worker, owner, and customer, with an appropriately systematic linkage of motives.

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the customer by virtue of his ownership of goods, profit not yet entering in. The storekeeper cannot yet be rewarded for any activity other than working; he must either work or possess goods. The recognition that work is paid for, having emerged during the last stage, is extended by some children to the maker's employees who finally also get paid. Children now understand where, the storekeeper obtained the money to pay for his goods when initially he started to sell, that is, before he had customers whose payments would get the process underway. The storekeeper must first work to get the money. Thus increasingly larger numbers of an individual's acts are being linked in long-range purpose—the money having this influence as well as the related one of linking the purposes and activities of different persons.

Stage 5 (6.0–8.9; median 7.10). Children now know exactly how much more, or less, each coin is worth than every other coin. They can add piles of coins and tell the differences in amount. They can make correct change. Money handling is now impersonal, non-whimsical, and arithmetically ordered. Relations between storekeeper and customer are, in fact, so impersonal that the children at last agree that a bad or mean person would be sold goods by a storekeeper, since it makes no difference providing the transaction is monetarily correct.

Impersonality of relationships, however, has only limited extension, for the children remain blind to various other situations which equally involve impersonal numerical arrangements. Thus a customer who is well liked receives more change than is arithmetically proper, and a customer disliked receives less. And though the children agree, as they have for some time, that it makes no difference whether a customer gives money first or whether the storekeeper hands across the goods first, they still fail to understand why either sequence is correct. Furthermore, though they understand that a nickel paid for a three cent candy requires two cents change, they continue to believe that either the customer or the storekeeper feels better and gets the better of the bargain. None of the above situations are understood to entail purely monetary transactions. Although they have known for some time that one cannot

buy money in a store, they cannot explain why this is not possible, though they understand clearly the arithmetic of its impossibility (equal values are equal).

The children now understand not only that the maker must pay his workmen but that he must also spend money to buy his raw materials. Thus more and more acts and persons are being drawn into the monetary net.

There is also some advance on the matter of storekeeper motivations. Most children are getting the correct rationale for why he sells all day long, "To make money." Consequently both storekeeper and maker must sell or lose money. Making a living as a complex individual purpose has clearly emerged, and with it a great many acts organized as means to the individual's goal of making money.

The mechanics of making money are still absent. Most children are maintaining stoutly that the customer directly pays the owners. The more advanced children of this and the preceding stage betray a little more hesitation about whether the source of income comes directly from customers. One confused girl said, "The owner's money comes from the cash register. And partly he earns it, working for customers and helping choose the right thing for the family. They pay him for the food. Sometimes they pay him, sometimes they don't. Usually they don't, they just pay him for the food."

Stage 6 (7.5–9.8; median 8.7). The notion that customer-storekeeper relations are essentially impersonal, and systematically regulated, blossomed in the last stage and now develops further. It no longer makes any difference whether the customer is much liked or disliked by the storekeeper—in either event he receives a carefully regulated amount of change. A proper rationale is arrived at to cover the irrelevancy of who gives first, storekeeper or customer. The child also strips away the irrelevancy of the store situation and grasps that a given amount of money is equivalent to a given amount regardless of where it is found. He can now see why one cannot purchase money in a store. "You'd be giving him the same amount."

During the preceding stage some children began to waver in the belief that customers

were responsible for owners getting paid. The child takes another step toward understanding the mechanics of payments to owner when he grasps that there is a complex subtractive process involved. He sees that some of the customers' money contributes toward paying the maker and some toward paying the workmen, while some remains for the owner. This continues the subtractive process of stage 4, where storekeeper paid workmen from customers' payments and retained the rest. But both owner and customer were viewed as payers—owner paid workmen and customer paid owner. Now there is a shift of emphasis, away from customer paying owner for working, and toward customer paying for goods. The shift is in the direction of further impersonality and more complex subtraction. The children now emphasize the subtractive operation: "Out of this he pays his helpers. He gets a little for himself."

This subtraction of expenses from customer payments necessarily is still a mathematically imprecise matter. If it were not, the children would catch the implicit contradiction in their reasoning, for none have any notion that the owner sells goods at a higher price than he bought them. Precise mathematical reasoning would quickly show that the barrel had no bottom. Catherine has not arrived at questioning the matter, so when confronted with the contradiction, she can answer, "Customers pay the storekeeper. Then he takes a little bit of the money and gives it to the helpers." Does he get much for himself? "No, not very much, because he has to pay the other guys." Then if he buys the candy for three cents and sells it for the same, where does he get the money to pay the helpers? "He could take it out of the bank. Maybe he has a little bit saved so he could pay the workers." Brenda, who heard her father say he paid his clerks more than himself, is engaged in wrestling with why he should do so, and her perplexity illustrates the beginnings of awareness that something is wrong.

Stated another way, the owner-storekeeper is owner, employer, customer, and salesman, but not yet an investor. Money is not yet begetting money, nor is the owner allowed to be an absentee owner, that is, employer and investor in absentia.

During this and the following stage, credit

is beginning to be allowed and correctly explained. Previously the children flatly rejected the notion that customers could take goods and pay later, or that the storekeeper could take the maker's goods, sell them, and then with customers' money finally pay the maker. Stages 6 and 7 mark a transitional period when many of the children correctly grasp the principle, but others grasp it only in part. The latter lay heavy qualifications upon when delayed payment may occur. "Be all right if customers come in and pay storekeeper same day, then the maker would do it." "Maker might maybe, if he was a good friend of storekeeper's, not to others." "Storekeeper might. Customer might be real poor and didn't have enough money at the time." "Could happen but not very often." There are fewer transitional answers in stage 7 than in stage 6. Credit granted the storekeeper by the maker is still transitional in stage 6 and partly transitional in stage 7.

The significance for the child's development of allowing the possibility of credit is that relationships between roles are no longer seen as partly temporal and partly logical. The temporal aspects diminish in importance and virtually pass away. The essence of storekeeper-customer-maker relationships is monetary, therefore logical. To the adult it makes no difference whether the storekeeper buys goods from the maker and then sells them; or whether he promises to pay for the goods, sells them and then pays the maker; or whether the customer orders the goods so that the storekeeper then goes and buys or gets the goods, returning to sell them for cash to the customer, and so on. The point of credit is that it allows orders to be given far in advance, payment far in advance or lagging far behind, payment in conjunction with payments from quite other transactions and so on. Payment is thus divorced from temporal aspects, except that payment must be made within conventionally agreed upon limits, and the act of promising to pay is seen as central to the whole transaction. Furthermore, until the principle of credit is grasped, one cannot visualize how the giving of an order to a maker, with promise to pay, enables him to keep his employees working throughout the month, and in turn allows the factory workers to roll up bills at multiple storekeepers, who in turn can give

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orders to factory owners on the assumption that at the end of the month their customers will fulfil credit obligations. We do not have to assume that when children first grasp the principle of credit that they see all these implications; in fact, during stage 6 we see that they do not really understand that the storekeeper can get credit. But when they understand that credit may be granted, then the space and time dimension of monetary transaction is on the way to being greatly extended, and strictly temporal aspects are being ruled out of court.

Stage 7 (6.8-10.6; median 8.9). It occurs to some children now that the storekeeper pays proportionate amounts to his helpers and to himself. This represents a sharpened focus upon self-payment. "He gives helpers some and keeps rest, probably half and half"; "Probably check how much there was in the cash register, then divide it, but he'd get most because he's the owner. He needs it for house and taxes. He'd get about fifty dollars, his helpers twenty"; "Storekeeper takes from the register what he thinks he should." The amount of self-payment is crudely apportioned by whim and equity. This aspect of money handling retains moral and personal aspects.

This corresponds to how profitmaking is viewed. Previously the child denies the possibility that goods are sold for more than they are purchased. Through stage 3, it could not be done, was not right; through 6 it was additionally not fair. Thus Jerry says storekeepers would feel fine if they sold candy for two cents more than they paid for it, but that would not be fair. I ask what storekeepers would have to do if the customer did give two cents more than the goods were originally purchased for. "Give them some money back." During stage 7 the children are vaguely aware that storekeepers may perhaps sell for more money, but moral considerations plus rigid application of change-making principles confuse the issue. (How much would candy bought by the storekeeper for three cents sell for?) "Two cents more." (Is that fair?) "I just know that's the way they do it." (Well would that be fair?) "I don't know. The storekeeper has to make a little more money." (Is the customer willing to pay more than the storekeeper paid the maker?)

"Yes, at least my father is and so am I. The storekeeper may need the money." Another child says, "The storekeeper would sell it for more because he needs money. In a way it's not fair, but in a way it is." (Is the customer willing to pay more?) "Maybe. He might feel sorry for the storekeeper and feel he needed money." "Sometimes it's more, sometimes less. More is not as fair as the same. The storekeeper would make more than the maker." "He usually doesn't know. If he knows, he won't be willing. Because the storekeeper would make more money than the maker."

About half the children recognize that absentee ownership exists. Previously, rejection of absentee ownership rested on the supposed spatial impossibility of owning two stores simultaneously or, especially in later stages, on the impropriety of receiving money without working for it. Previously an owner was paid for working or for possessing goods, not because he had money. Now he can direct the management of his store from afar, or even have a manager who does the directing. He owns the store and so deserves reward for that ownership.

The corollary is that money begets money, so that one who possesses money may earn further money. The meaning of money is progressing beyond (a) money as an agent for buying goods and service, and (b) money as an end in itself. Money as an agent, independent in a real sense of its possessor, is emerging. We may not assume, of course, that the child now grasps all these involved implications of investment. But presumably the way to their comprehension will now be open.

The children are also giving better rationales for why the manufacturer does not sell directly to customer. Previously, answers were uniformly bad, stressing that the storekeeper would be unemployed, that it just isn't right, that customers are supposed to buy from storekeepers, that that's the rule, and that it isn't maker's job to sell. Current rationales are still inadequate: customers might have to travel great distances to find factories. But this represents an advance, for storekeepers are now looked upon as convenient distributors of goods. This new understanding will tie in with the absentee ownership concept, absenteeism also being

payable on the grounds that it allows convenient distribution to continue. Again we need not assume that the child sees this connection immediately and clearly.

Almost all children during this and the succeeding stage deny that a storekeeper may intentionally short change customers, but are less categorical than before in denial. They think it does not, rather than it cannot, happen. That they even visualize that the possibility of short changing indicates how powerful a motive "making money" has become. The motive is partly checked for two stages by moral considerations as well as by the threat that the customers will not return.

Stage 8 (8.4-11.0; median 9.9). The children finally realize that storekeepers sell for more money than they buy; that this is fair because agreed upon. The storekeeper deserves his profits even if he has merely put up the money. In other words, the storekeeper's function as a distributor is evident, and the storekeeper deserves his profits because of his middleman function.

Most rationales accounting for why the maker sells to the customer through the storekeeper are now excellent. Children understand that each factory serves many stores and that each store buys from many factories.

Impersonality of monetary arrangements has extended. It is now understood that a lazy and an industrious storekeeper respectively selling an identical article to equal numbers of customers make identical sums; also that a storekeeper who sells one article might get as much money as a storekeeper who sells five articles to five customers. They finally comprehend that when a customer receives change and a storekeeper receives payment, that neither customer nor storekeeper gets the better of the bargain. In fact, some are now so sophisticated about profit that they are inclined to say the storekeeper does better because he makes profit over and above the equation of "equal worth." This is an orderly *laissez faire* world where individual motives of profit are pursued at the expense of no one and to the benefit of the entire community.

Stage 9 (9.7-11.6; median 11.2). In the preceding two stages the children denied that storekeepers would intentionally short

change customers. Denial was based on moral grounds and on the possibility of losing customers. Now the children admit that storekeepers sometimes cheat "to make more money." The act is labeled as dishonest, but is perfectly understandable to the children because of the great strength of the "making money" motive. This represents a shift in perspective since in the preceding stage individual pursuit of profit led automatically to community welfare. Now the individual has become so imbued with profit-making that he constitutes a danger to the community. Nothing is wrong with his motive per se, but something is wrong with this particular expression of it. Money has potentialities for evil as well as for good, and thus the groundwork is laid for viewing money as temptress and corrupter.

There is one aspect of money that children of all stages fail completely to comprehend. They were asked if it made any sense if the maker sold his goods to a man who in turn sold them to another man who sold them to the storekeeper, who of course sold them to customers. Children through stage 5 categorically refuse to consider this possibility. The storekeeper is the only intermediary between maker and customer. When you confront children with the possibility of other middlemen, they deny it directly or find indirect ways of denying it. "Wouldn't be right." "No. Cause storekeeper needs it right away." "Men might drop candy." "If you sold it to him, he'd eat it." "Not fair to storekeeper. They would eat it all up, only give him the paper." "No because maker is supposed to sell to storekeeper." From stage 6 the children are admitting with fair regularity that passage of goods from maker to customer is possible but maintain that it does not make any sense. Only two children (highest scores) viewed it as perhaps making sense but believed it did not happen very often.

The children's failure to understand the possibility and function of the middleman represents a grave shortcoming in their conceptions of money. The only middleman whom they are willing to see profit by his role is the storekeeper. The activities of all other middlemen are superfluous and non-rewardable. This suggests that the children are not willing to pay for distribution alone,

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and that distribution must be combined with other functions such as selling (storekeeper), investing (absentee owner), or helping (truckmen). The children have yet to perceive the indispensable activities performed by middlemen in mercantile or industrial economies.

DISCUSSION

We have depicted in some detail the development of certain monetary concepts. This "development" may be viewed variously. One might, for instance, employ the metaphor of a continuous road, the child moving from point to successive point, his movements representing matters of degree. Or one might think of development in terms of an end point toward which the child climbs on a ladder, his progress being measured by how far he must still climb.

We would prefer to visualize the child's concept learning as a series of transformations. Etymologically the word "transformation" invites us to consider changes of form. As the child learns, the organization of his behavior becomes increasingly complex, more like the adults, but it becomes also considerably different than previously. Of course, one can argue that the behavioral organization is "essentially" not different from its previous state. This argument—concerning "essentially different *versus* essentially the same, just a matter of degree"—is a philosophical issue which no amount of empirical research will settle. A question of fruitfulness for inquiry, not of final truth, is at stake.

(1) Hence there has been considerable discussion in the literature concerning whether the child advances by stage or continuum. Our treatment of the data above suggests that "stage," taken to indicate level of response organization, is a useful conception. It is unnecessary to reify these stages found by utilization of particular methods. The behavioral description afforded by one's method merely makes discriminations of the order of: children of this level operate thus and are distinguished from children at other levels who operate in these other ways. In different populations the responses constituting different levels may vary somewhat, but this variance would not render the method useless for discriminating levels of response, and indeed it would be especially useful for

comparing populations, both for general and specific developmental careers.⁶

(2) As the child moves from level to level, his behavior undergoes transformation. The content of his concepts undergoes continuous change. Hypothetically one could imagine that while formation of a given concept, X, might be prerequisite to others, formation of the latter might leave concept X unchanged. This does not happen for there is a propulsive and interactive character to naming and renaming. As new classifications are formed, the meanings of old ones change, become revised and qualified, so that little remains of the initial or early meanings of concepts.

(3) The development in content of concepts—whether initial or later meaning—waits upon the development of related concepts. Each advance depends upon understanding a number of prerequisite notions. Some of these the child may have possessed for some time before being able to combine them with others into the formation of a more complex dependent meaning. A child, for instance, cannot understand how an owner is paid by exact subtraction unless he has previously learned about owners, employers, working for money, proportioning customers' payments, and the like. Some advances may seem sudden or insightful, but the term "insight" describes sudden comprehension, it does not explain it. Of course the necessary conditions, in the form of previous learning of concepts, do not exhaust the explanation of advances in conceptualization.

(4) As comprehension increases many earlier notions seem to be lost. This is an illusion. Development is truly cumulative. Later meanings are not only built upon but absorb earlier and simpler ones. Only if one equates loss with "the child does not believe that notion any longer" can he speak of loss. What is genuinely lost is the child's remembrance of holding such a view. Unless reminded of certain peculiarities of conception held earlier, he is not likely to recollect them. It is usual for adults to remember once hoarding shiny pennies or preferring nickels to dimes, but it is unusual for them to recol-

⁶ R. Yokley of Fisk University in a yet unpublished study of Negro children's conceptions of skin color, finds that scale types of children of two cities are not identical, but very similar.

lect most of the conceptions traced in this paper. There is inherent a kind of systematic forgetting that has nothing whatever to do with repression, conscious or "unconscious". As the child moves from earlier to later frames of reference he betrays an inability to recapture the previous orientations. When interviewed, no child ever said spontaneously "I used to believe that but now know it is wrong." They reject notions once firmly believed with no apparent awareness that they once did so, rejecting even with ridicule, laughter and incredulity. This is precisely what one would expect if he assumes that development implies genuine transformation of behavioral organization.

(5) Children at each level commit characteristic errors which are related in determinable ways to characteristic concepts held at each level. Error is systematic, not accidental or uniquely individual. One might term this, perhaps, the socialization of misconception.⁷

The problems of conceptualization which arise to beset the child are considerably less general per level but are related to the level; for they cannot be raised unless he can formulate the problem in given terms, and will not be raised once he acquires more advanced conceptions. Another way of phrasing the matter is that levels of development imply differences of process. Thus two children may pass an item or answer a question correctly, but their performances may be on different levels, that is, operations utilized may differ. The more advanced child may in fact fail the question while the less advanced passes. For instance, "Can you buy this seven cent candy with your

two nickels?" may be answered correctly by a young child but failed by an older who does not yet know about the mechanics of change making but knows just enough to realize that seven cents is neither five cents nor ten cents. Practically speaking, this suggests that in designing a task or question the investigator must do considerable exploratory questioning else he will misinterpret what "pass" or "fail" signify in terms of the child's actual operations.⁸

(6) The learning of concepts is not merely an intellectual matter. Cognition and behavior are not separable phenomena. Shifts of conceptualization are shifts in emoting, perceiving, willing, and valuing. "Levels of conception" does not signify merely different degrees of intellectual sophistication.

It does no violence to the data to consider that children at different levels have different psychological status. They have different logical status too, for it could be demonstrated, as in the two previous papers, that concept development means development in utilization of various logical operations. Philosophically speaking, children of different levels are different "beings," and it may be more fruitful to consider them so, rather than merely as possessing more or less knowledge. At any rate the detailed description of monetary concept development given above should make clear that investigations of concept development are essential to the study of personality development.

⁸ Some years ago A. Luria indirectly made a similar point. Pre-school children passed a certain memory problem by laying numbers of hailshot in heaps while school children used hailshot to form figures. When forbidden to form figures, the latter "were quite helpless to cope with the task." Apropos of systematic forgetting because of shifts of conception, he adds "We have hardly ever seen among children of these school groups any instances of reversion to the method of quantitative counting so characteristic of pre-school children." "The Problem of the Cultural Behavior of the Child," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 35 (1928), pp. 497-8.

⁷ F. Ilg and L. Ames recently stressed that "... at certain ages and in certain processes, the same types of errors occur over and over . . . they are frequently good clues to . . . what intellectual process the child is going through as he adds, subtracts, or multiplies." "Developmental Trends in Arithmetic," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 79 (1951), pp. 3-28.

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SUBJECT AND OBJECT SCALES: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPLICATION*

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It is difficult to conceive of any human judgment which is unaffected by the group. Probably the closest approach to purely individual judgments is a psychometric test in which experimentally isolated subjects are required to guess which of two weights is the heavier. Most everyday judgments, such as the attractiveness of a woman, the value of property, the desirability of playing a game or reading a book, are individual only in the sense that they are expressed by a single personality. There is a corporate element to such judgments because the standards and reference points used are directly or indirectly the result of social interaction. Can this corporate element be isolated and examined in any systematic manner? It is this old and basically sociological question which has led us to differentiate subject and object scales in the belief that such a procedure will suggest at least some of the answers.

THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

The frame of reference within which attitude scales are usually applied has two components; we may refer to these as, first, the "actor" or "subject" and, second, the "action" or "orientation" of this subject. Thus, scales as used in sociology and psychology ordinarily depend upon the simultaneous ordering of the responses of a sample of individuals (subjects) to a series of questionnaire items (orientations) focused on a single dimension. There has been ample dem-

onstration of the usefulness in social research of such simultaneous ordering of multiple subjects and multiple questionnaire items; it has served both to define the dimension of orientation in terms of those questionnaire items which prove scalable and to classify respondents for further analysis according to the degree of their orientation to this dimension.

This usual scheme is, however, inadequate in situations where the frame of reference differentiates three components, each of which is multiple so as to allow ordering: the "subject" of the action, the "orientation" of the action, and the "object" toward which the action is directed.¹ "Objects" in this sense may be material objects, cultural norms, or other persons or groups. The focus of research is frequently on material objects; for example much market research is preoccupied with products and brands. Sociological research is to a large extent concerned with persons and collectivities, not merely as the subjects, but also as the objects of social action. In such situations it is logically possible to apply scale techniques to all three components, so as to order along a single dimension not only subjects and orientations but also objects and orientations.²

A fictitious example will be used to illus-

¹ Cf. the action frame of reference as developed by Talcott Parsons in *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1951 and Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

² It should be noted that this is also the frame of reference of the Bogardus scale which on the one hand orders subjects according to their degree of prejudice and on the other hand orders ethnic groups (objects) in terms of the degree to which they are discriminated against. The major methodological difference has to do with our use of the empirical tests of unidimensionality inherent in the Guttman or Lazarsfeld type of scale.

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trate this. Suppose a sample of adults were shown a list of public figures and asked:

1. Are there any of these that you have ever heard of? Which ones?³
2. Are there any that you follow frequently in the news? Which?
3. Are there any that you talk to your friends about? Which?
4. Are there any that you personally agree with? Which?
5. Are there any that you admire especially? Which?

technique, we propose, therefore, to concentrate first upon *subjects* and orientations, collecting the particular objects into the general class of all such objects, i.e., public figures; if a scale results, we shall refer to this as a "subject scale". Second, we shall concentrate upon *objects* and orientations, collecting the particular subjects into a general class or group of subjects; we shall call a resultant scale the "object scale" or "group scale".

FIGURE A. SUBJECT SCALE OF INTEREST IN PUBLIC FIGURES
(where the object is generalized)

Subjects						Orientation	Objects
+=any given respondent names a public figure (any ⁵ figure)						(Questions)	
Scale Type of Subjects:							
5	4	3	2	1	0		Specific objects
+	+	+	+	+	-	a) Know something about	are generalized into
+	+	+	+	-	-	b) Follow in the news	a single, collective
+	+	+	-	-	-	c) Talk to friends about	object—"public
+	+	-	-	-	-	d) Agree with	figures taken as a
+	-	-	-	-	-	e) Admire especially	whole"

I.e., if respondent A names *any* public figure on two questions, they are questions a) and b); if C names any public figure four questions, they are questions a), b), c), d); and so on.

Respondents in scale type 0 thus express no admiration for public figures taken as a whole; those in scale type 5 express a high degree of admiration for public figures taken as a whole.

Note that, unlike the usual scale table, this is set up with scale types across the top rather than down the side, in order to indicate the subject-object schemes here involved.

⁵ The cutting point is arbitrary. Instead of "any" (or "at least one") public figure, it might equally well have been "more than 3" public figures.

Here we have three components to the data: multiple subjects (respondents), multiple questions designed to measure a dimension of admiration or interest, and multiple objects (public figures). Scale technique allows us to utilize simultaneously only two multiple components. Yet our analysis requires all three. Moreover, we are at the same time substantively interested in the multiplicity of each and methodologically anxious to utilize the advantages derived from the scaled series of items as distinct from the single item. In order to take all three into account and at the same time to apply scale

³ This is in effect a short cut method of asking all five questions about each public figure in turn. In order to meet scale requirements, some 50 to 100 figures would have to be included in such a list.

A SUBJECT SCALE INVOLVING MULTIPLE OBJECTS

In Figure A, the first two components of our fictitious example, subjects and their orientations, are simultaneously ordered. (Scales of the Guttman type are used here throughout by way of illustration, although other scaling procedures would have been equally applicable.) In this example, the third component, public figures, has been generalized, so that respondents are ordered according to the degree of their admiration toward, or interest in, public figures as a whole, not toward Jackie Robinson, President Truman, or others, in particular. Thus, if a particular subject selects *any* public figure in answer to two, and only two, of the questions, these tend to be always the

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first two questions; if a particular subject names *any* public figure in answer to four, and only four, of the questions, these tend to be always the first four questions, and so on.

This is clearly a special case of the usual scale in which respondents and questions are simultaneously ordered.⁴ At the same time, it is parallel to the general model of the object scale, and therefore deserves detailed consideration.

Like all subject scales it focuses upon the two components of multiple subjects and multiple orientations; its peculiarity inheres in the generalizing of the multiple objects. It should be noted that this is different from a generalization made in the form of the questions themselves, which might have asked directly about "public figures in general." Instead of this, the present example arrives at the general through the combining of specifics. Whether or not this adds to the validity of the results remains to be demonstrated; it may well be that respondents can report more accurately on individual objects within a category (e.g., specific public figures, particular Jews, or individual Army officers) than on the category in general (e.g., public figures, Jews, officers). Whenever the data are in this form, the definition of the subject scale demands that all of the responses for each individual subject be collected and that a minimum criterion be set as to the number of positive responses regarding *particular* objects which will be accepted as a positive response regarding all objects *in general*. Such a procedure enables us to order the respondents along the dimension of interest in public figures.

There are two conditions which, alone or in combination, may produce such a subject scale in which the multiple objects have been generalized:

⁴ Other types of subject scales may relate to action which is intransitive, to use a grammatical analogue, where *no object* is involved (as, e.g., where such questions are used as "Are you worried? —a) Hardly ever, b) Sometimes, c) Often"). Or they may relate only to a *single object*, as where scalable questions are asked about the attitudes toward President Roosevelt. The multiple orientation of the subjects may also consist of a *single question* about a series of objects, as in the questions, "Do you like: a) boogie-woogie, b) Strauss waltzes, c) Mozart quartets, d) Bach fugues?"

1. Unidimensionality in the attitudes of individual subjects toward *particular* public figures. That is, if a respondent names Jackie Robinson for two questions, these are the first two; if he names President Truman for four questions, these are the first four; and so on. In such cases, the subject scale results because individual subjects tend to be ordered along a dimension of admiration for particular figures.
2. Unidimensionality in the attitudes of individual subjects, *not* to the particular figures, but only to the generalized class of objects. Thus, any given subject may name one public figure to one question, another public figure to another question, a third to the next, and so on; yet, such a subject will follow the scaled order of questions as long as he names *any* objects (above the arbitrary minimum) in answer to the questions.

When a subject scale occurs under conditions of this second type, the scale thus abstracts from the idiosyncratic elements present in the orientation toward specific public figures, reaching a more general level of admiration for all public figures taken together.

THE OBJECT SCALE

Conversely, Figure B deals with the second pair of components in our fictitious example: orientations and the public figures which constitute objects of these orientations. In this example, the first component, respondents (subjects), has been generalized, so that objects⁶ are now ordered according to their popularity (i.e., according to the degree of admiration which they *receive* from respondents as a whole.) Thus, if a particular public figure is selected by *any* respondent in answer to two of the questions, these are always the first two; or, if a particular public figure is selected by *any* respondent in answer to four of the questions, these are always the first four; and so on.

It will be readily seen that, while the two scale patterns for subjects and objects are identical, their meanings are converse. In

⁶ Note that, just as an adequate sample of subjects is necessary for the subject scale, an adequate sample of objects is necessary for the object scale. A crude rule is that at least 50 to 100 are needed to meet scale development criteria.

the subject scale, *respondents* are ordered according to the degree of admiration which they *express* toward public figures. In the object scale, *public figures* are ordered according to the degree of admiration *received*. It should also be apparent that, whereas subject scales may have no object at all or only a single object so that the subject scale with the generalized object is only a special case, object scales by definition *always* in-

collective subject, or group. As such, they represent the agent by whom the multiple objects have been ordered. This generalization takes place through the collecting of all the responses⁹ relative to each particular object, again using an arbitrary cutting point. Thus, in Figure B, the response on any item was regarded as positive if at least one respondent gave such a response.

The parallelism between object scales and

FIGURE B. OBJECT SCALE OF POPULARITY OF PUBLIC FIGURES
(where the subject is generalized)

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Orientation</u> (Questions)	<u>Objects</u> + = any given figure is named by a respondent (<i>any</i> ⁷ respondent)					
		<u>Scale type of objects:</u>					
		5	4	3	2	1	0
Specific subjects are generalized into a single, collective object—"respondents taken as a whole"	a) Know something about	+	+	+	+	+	—
	b) Follow in the news	+	+	+	+	—	—
	c) Talk to friends about	+	+	+	—	—	—
	d) Agree with	+	+	—	—	—	—
	e) Admire especially	+	—	—	—	—	—

i.e., if Jackie Robinson is named by respondents as a whole (i.e., by any one or more respondents) for two questions they are questions a) and b); if President Truman is named by respondents as a whole for four questions, they are questions a), b), c), and d); and so on.

Figures in scale type 0 receive a low degree of admiration from respondents as a whole; those in scale type 5 receive a high degree of admiration from respondents as a whole; that is, they have a high popularity rating.

⁷ Minimum criterion.

volve multiple subjects⁸ (a sample of respondents) who are then generalized into the

⁸ There is also the possibility of a "personal" scale, in which a single subject is asked a series of questions about a sample of objects and the answers found to be unidimensional. Although we do not include this under the definition of an object scale, it is in some ways analogous to the object scale in which a collectivity judges a large number of social objects, since, from one point of view, the individual personality is also a collectivity. Hence it makes sense to look for scalability when a single personality rates fifty to one hundred objects. Of course the interpretation of a personal scale, if found, would be different from that of either an object or a subject scale as usually defined. If, for example, child "A" communicated with sufficient children to enable us to attempt to construct a personal scale, we would find out whether his communications with "C", "D", "E", etc., fall along the same dimension of intimacy. This is a measure of consistency *internal to his own personality*. It tells us whether he is consistent in the standards he applies to different objects. It is quite different from a measure of the

the analogous type of subject scale becomes still clearer when the conditions producing the object scale are observed. Object scales may arise when either, or a combination of both, of the following conditions exist:

1. Unidimensionality in the attitudes expressed toward particular figures by *par-*

consistency of standards from individual to individual (the subject scale). It is also distinct from consistency internal to the group as a group (the object scale). The personal scale would have at least two implications: On the one hand, it might offer a measure of personality integration for the clinical psychologist. On the other hand, it may be a means of understanding the dynamics of non-conformity when individuals are compared; when, for example, a subject scale reveals the existence of non-scale types, use of personal scales might function as a part of the deviant case type of analysis.

⁹ Operationally, this may be done by advance tabulation of all questionnaires, so as to learn the number of mentions given to each object in answer to each question.

particular subjects. Thus, if Jackie Robinson is named by a given respondent for two questions, these are the first two; if President Truman is named by a given respondent for four questions, they are the first four; and so on. In such cases, the object scale results from a unidimensionality in the paired orientations of particular subjects to particular objects.¹⁰ It will be noted that this is the same as the first condition for the subject scale.

2. Unidimensionality in the attitudes expressed toward particular figures, not by particular subjects, but by the collectivity of respondents. Thus, Jackie Robinson may be named by one respondent in answer to the first question, and by a different respondent in answer to the second; nevertheless, Jackie Robinson as an object will follow the scaled order of the questions as long as he is named by any subject (beyond the arbitrary minimum) in answer to the questions.

Thus when an object scale occurs under conditions of this second type, the scale abstracts from the idiosyncratic definitions of particular individuals, reaching a more general level of *group definition*. Here the existence of the object scale depends, accordingly, upon the relevant degree of *interaction* among the respondents. Although one public figure may tend to be named exclusively by one segment of respondents, another public figure exclusively by another segment, and so on, nevertheless the interactive pressures of these segments are sufficient to generate a scale of objects. Thus, in the case of a respondent who named President Truman as "admired especially" but not as "followed frequently in the news," the finding of an object scale must be interpreted to entail: first, a share of the respondent in the group definition of "following in the news" as a prerequisite to "admiration," and second, a common awareness that President Truman is followed in the news by people in general if not by the respondent himself. (In such a case one would assume that the interaction necessary to produce group definitions would be brought about largely through the press.)

¹⁰ Further research is being done on the conditions under which both subject and object scales may be derived from such unidimensionality of paired relationships. Cf. our forthcoming article on "Scales Applied to Dyadic Relationships," *Sociometry*, XV (1952), p. 1.

AN EXAMPLE OF PARALLEL SUBJECT AND OBJECT SCALES

Some experimental scales which have so far been developed will serve to illustrate such a scheme. It happens that these scales, unlike the fictitious examples given above, are based on sociometric data. Thus the same individuals may be viewed first as subjects and again as objects.¹¹

A sample of 254 high school children¹² were asked to name the friends with whom they discussed each of a series of twenty topics. The analysis proceeded first from the point of view of the individuals reporting, as a measure of the way in which the individual communicates with, or relates himself to, his peers. It was found that five of the twenty topics tended to form a subject scale of peer orientation, as Table 1 shows. That is, that everybody who reported talking to peers on the first topic, also tended to talk to peers on all the others; those who did not talk to peers on the first topic but did talk on the second tended also to have peer communications on the third, fourth, and fifth topics; and so on.

However one interprets such a scale, its implications are all in terms of the individual reporting. For example, it may be interpreted as a measure of the diffuseness or intimacy of the orientation of the individual to his peers. The fact that such a scale exists at all may be interpreted as an indication that all individuals in the group become increasingly oriented to their peers by following a standard pattern of communication. Thus it cannot be said that some individuals talk to peers on one intimate topic only, others on still another intimate topic only; it must rather be said that all individuals tend to approach peers first on the same everyday topic, that all who become better acquainted

¹¹ This suggests a further elaboration of the frame of reference to include not only the three components of subject, orientation, and object, but also the *interaction* between subjects and social objects. Thus the same individuals appear both as subjects and as social objects. This is the frame of reference employed by J. L. Moreno and the sociometric school, to which the scale technique, using multiple questions, has here been applied.

¹² Cf. Riley, M. W., and Flowerman, S. A., "Group Relations as a Variable in Communications Research," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (April 1951). The data were obtained through the cooperation of the Public Schools of Metuchen, New Jersey.

go on to a slightly more intimate common topic; and so on. Thus the data which form the scale, in this case, are reports by individuals of their communications to peers (though no single individual can, of course,

about their relation to him. (Operationally this involved tabulating the total communications received by each child from all other children and punching these "object" ratings onto his I.B.M. card.)

TABLE 1. SUBJECT SCALE OF COMMUNICATIONS¹³
Which girls¹⁴ distribute the more intimate communications to peers?

Scale Type	Scale Pattern					Communications Distributed on Topic No.					No Communications Distributed on Topic No.					Errors	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
5	+	+	+	+	+	16	16	16	16	16	—	—	—	—	—	0	16
	+	+	+	—	—	5	5	5	—	5	—	—	—	5	—	5	5
	+	+	—	+	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	1
4	—	+	+	+	+	—	21	21	21	21	21	—	—	—	—	0	21
	—	+	+	—	+	—	9	9	—	9	9	—	—	9	—	9	9
	—	+	+	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	4	2
3	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	18	18	18	18	18	—	—	—	0	18
	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	7	—	7	7	7	—	7	—	7	7
	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	3	3	—	3	3	—	—	3	3	3
2	+	—	+	+	+	2	—	2	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	2
	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	16	16	16	16	16	—	—	0	16
	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	5	—	5	5	5	—	5	5	5
1	—	+	—	+	+	—	7	—	7	7	7	—	7	—	—	7	7
	+	—	—	+	+	2	—	—	2	2	—	2	2	—	—	2	2
	—	+	—	+	—	—	3	—	3	—	3	—	3	—	3	6	3
0	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	6	6	6	6	6	—	0	6
	—	+	—	—	+	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	1	1
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	21	21	21	21	0	21
	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	—	2	2	2	2
	—	+	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	1	1
Total						26	66	85	94	110	122	82	63	54	38	56	148

$$\text{Reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{56}{5 \times 148} = 92\%$$

¹³ Topics of conversation used, in order of decreasing intimacy, were:

- 1) The fear that something terrible might happen to you
- 2) Facts about life, kissing, petting
- 3) What boy to invite to a party
- 4) Movies
- 5) Boys

¹⁴ A similar table, using different topics, was developed for the boys in the sample.

be presumed to perceive the overall pattern formed by the aggregate of these reports).

The second phase of the analysis then proceeded to reverse this process, to study the communications received by the peer from the collectivity of individuals. The emphasis is now on the peer as *object*. The data are no longer the reports of the individual about his own orientations; they are the aggregative reports of the others in the group

Interestingly enough, these data proved in this case to form an object scale, as Table 2 shows, closely analogous in general outline to the subject scale.

The analogy in form between these two scales should not, however, conceal the major difference in the terms in which their implications must be stated. One measures the relation of the individual to the group; the other measures the relation of the group to

SUBJECT AND OBJECT SCALES: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPLICATION 293

the individual as object. Table 2, for example, classifies children as recipients of more or less diffuse communications from the group and may accordingly be interpreted on a dimension of group acceptance. The fact that a scale was found rules out (for

those children who score the same on both scales as having reciprocal communications with the group. At the same time, it is clear that the two scales are not necessarily related: the distribution of a high degree of communications to the group does not neces-

TABLE 2. OBJECT SCALE OF COMMUNICATIONS¹⁵
Which girls¹⁶ receive the more intimate communications from peers?

Scale Type	Scale Pattern					Communications Received on Topic No.					No Communications Received on Topic No.					Errors	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
5	+	+	+	+	+	13	13	13	13	13	—	—	—	—	—	0	13
	+	+	—	+	+	3	3	—	3	3	—	—	3	—	—	3	3
	+	+	+	—	+	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1
	+	—	+	+	+	3	—	3	3	3	—	3	—	—	—	3	3
4	—	+	+	+	+	—	19	19	19	19	19	—	—	—	—	0	19
3	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	15	15	15	15	15	—	—	—	0	15
	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	7	—	7	7	7	—	7	—	7	7
	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	6	6	—	6	6	—	—	6	6	6
	+	—	+	—	+	2	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	4	2
2	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	13	13	13	13	13	—	—	0	13
	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	4	—	4	4	4	—	4	4	4
	—	+	—	+	+	—	7	—	7	7	7	—	7	—	—	7	7
	+	—	—	+	+	2	—	—	2	2	—	2	2	—	—	2	2
1	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	24	24	24	24	—	—	0	24
	—	+	—	—	+	—	4	—	—	4	4	—	4	4	—	4	4
	+	—	—	—	+	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	1
0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	21	21	21	21	0	21
	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
	—	+	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	1	1
	+	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total						26	48	67	85	114	122	100	81	63	34	45	148

$$\text{Reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{45}{148 \times 5} = 94\%$$

¹⁵ Topics of communication, in order of decreasing intimacy, are:

- 1) The fear that something terrible might happen to you
- 2) Problems of what is right and wrong
- 3) What to wear to a party
- 4) How you get along with the kids
- 5) Boys

¹⁶ A similar table, using different topics, was developed for the boys in the sample.

the present group and the five topics in question) the possibility of "experts" or "specialists" in the group definition, since no child can be consulted on a highly specialized or intimate topic without first receiving communications from peers on all topics below it in the scale.

Table 3 shows a cross-tabulation of these two scales and illustrates some of the differences in their implications. We may describe

TABLE 3. SUBJECT SCALE OF COMMUNICATIONS (CF. TABLE 1) RELATED TO OBJECT SCALE OF COMMUNICATIONS (CF. TABLE 2)

Object Scale Types	Subject Scale Types		
	0-1	2-3	4-5
0-1	15	23	15
2-3	11	27	21
4-5	5	13	18
Total Cases=148			

sarily imply the reception of communications from the group in the same measure. Those children who do not fall on the principal diagonal in this table demonstrate such lack of reciprocity. Those who score higher on the subject than on the object scale appear to seek peer communication to a more intimate degree than they are themselves sought after, while those who are relatively higher on the object scale may be disproportionately sought after as intimates. Whether such asymmetry actually exists in the communications patterns themselves or whether it is due to individual differences in perception or reporting, its existence and the direction which it takes is nonetheless fruitful of hypotheses. Thus both subject and object scales are useful in this instance.

A STATUS SCALE

Another sociologically relevant example of an object scale, taken from the same study of adolescents (and later replicated in another study), is used to measure status. Here the answers to five questions were tabulated, and each individual was then coded according to whether or not he had been named by others on each of these five counts. Specifically the questions dealt with: whom do you do things with, whom would you like to do things with, whom do you communicate with, who is the most popular boy (girl) in your class, and who is the leader of your group. The ratings were found, as in Table 4, to form a scale with 95 per cent reproducibility based on 397 children. This served accordingly to divide the sample into six status categories for use in further analysis. Moreover, the fact of a scale in this case indicated that no child can achieve top status without also qualifying on all the other four counts, as defined; (e.g., a child cannot be a "leader" unless he meets a minimum requirement as also "popular," "communicated with," "wished for," and "associated with").

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF OBJECT SCALES

This status scale suggests some further analytical possibilities of the object scale which inhere in the collective subject always implied in such scales. While the object scale itself focuses attention on the objects, the

agent is always the multiple subjects or *group* the members of which interact in such a way as to produce the object scale. Moreover, these multiple subjects are, happily, themselves the respondents in the survey, from whom much relevant additional information may be obtained. Thus further analysis of data from respondents is possible in order to understand more fully the nature of this interaction.

To take one example of such further analysis of respondent data, we made an experiment with measuring the *degree of consensus* with which the group selected children in answer to each of the single questions used for the status scale. We wished, not merely to establish the fact of a continuum of items and to arrange objects along this continuum (i.e., in this instance, to arrange individual children in terms of the status accorded to them by the group); beyond this, we felt it also desirable, if possible, to provide a systematic basis for ordering the items themselves according to their *relative positions* in the continuum. Otherwise, how can one say, not merely that "popularity" and "leadership" both belong on a status dimension (as evidenced by scalability), but also that popularity comes prior to, and is apparently requisite for, leadership? The problem was: how could we obtain a meaningful ordering of items in such a way that we could interpret positions on the status scale in terms of the *content* of items? In dealing with the problem, we introduced an assumption upon which the validity of our ordering scheme¹⁷ depends. We assume that the greater the consensus on a particular status question, the more prestige there is in being chosen on that question. We then plotted ogives for the five status items which were used in the scale. These ogives showed that there is more concentration of choices for leader than for popular, that there is considerably more concentration of choices for popular than for communications, and that actual and wished-for associations are mutually indistinguishable and show least concentration of all. Hence in constructing the peer status scale we deliberately chose cutting points—in terms of the number of choices necessary to constitute a

¹⁷ Though not, of course, the validity of the group scale itself.

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positive response—so that the leader item was most positive and the popular item next. The decision as to the ordering of wished-for and actual associations had to be ar-

bitrary. (This does not, of course, mean necessarily that actual and wished-for associations are the same thing in status terms; rather it means that our way of asking for these choices did not serve to differentiate them.)

TABLE 4. SCALE OF GROUP STATUS

Which children are selected for																	
1) leadership																	
2) popularity																	
3) communication																	
4) wished-for association																	
5) actual association																	
Scale Type	Scale Pattern					Children Selected on Item No.					Children <i>not</i> Selected on Item No.					Errors	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
5	+	+	+	+	+	52	52	52	52	52	—	—	—	—	—	0	52
	+	+	—	+	+	9	9	—	9	9	—	—	9	—	—	9	9
	+	+	+	—	+	6	6	6	—	6	—	—	—	6	—	6	6
	+	+	—	+	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	1
4	—	+	+	+	+	—	42	42	42	42	42	—	—	—	—	0	42
	—	+	+	—	+	—	7	7	—	7	7	—	—	7	—	7	7
	—	+	+	+	—	—	2	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	2	2
3	—	—	+	+	+	—	—	73	73	73	73	73	—	—	—	0	73
	—	—	+	—	+	—	—	15	—	15	15	15	—	15	—	15	15
	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	1
	+	—	+	+	+	6	—	6	6	6	—	6	—	—	—	6	6
	+	—	+	—	+	2	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	4	2
2	—	—	—	+	+	—	—	—	43	43	43	43	43	—	—	0	43
	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	10	—	10	10	10	—	10	10	10
	—	+	—	+	+	—	8	—	8	8	8	—	8	—	—	8	8
	+	—	—	+	+	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1
	—	+	—	+	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	1	2	1
1	+	—	—	+	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	2	1
	—	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	45	45	45	45	—	—	0	45
	—	+	—	—	+	—	7	—	—	7	7	—	7	7	—	7	7
	+	—	—	—	+	3	—	—	—	3	—	3	3	3	—	3	3
0	+	+	—	—	+	3	3	—	—	3	—	—	3	3	—	6	3
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	50	50	50	50	0	50
	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	—	2	2	2	2
	—	+	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	1	1
	+	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	5	—	5	5	5	5	5
Total	+	+	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	2	1
						85	145	208	250	322	312	252	189	147	75	101	397

$$\text{Reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{101}{397 \times 5} = 95\%$$

bitrary. (This does not, of course, mean necessarily that actual and wished-for associations are the same thing in status terms; rather it means that our way of asking for these choices did not serve to differentiate them.)

In addition to such an analysis of responses for a possible ordering of scale items, one might well also study the collective sub-

ject to discover which of its segments contribute, or fail to contribute, the significant answers to the questionnaire items. Which respondents select as associates, for instance,

While our analysis did not proceed to this point, the status scale suggested the possible fruitfulness of such investigation. It was clear that the status ratings of individuals in the present example were drawn from various

discrete segments of the group of respondents. For example, although 83 per cent of the children were named as communicated with, 35 per cent as "popular," and 23 per cent as "leaders," nevertheless only 22 per cent were named by the *same* respondent as both communicated with and popular, and only 12 per cent by the *same* respondent as both communicated with and leader. Thus, the interrelationship among the scaled items, instead of being shared by the same individuals, are clearly the result of interaction.

Such group interaction probably involves both a group definition of the situation and sufficient visibility to the group of the segments so differentiated. Thus, in the example given above of the children who named "A" as popular but didn't themselves associate with him, the finding of a group scale must be interpreted to entail: first, a share in the group definition of association as a prerequisite to popularity, and second, a common awareness that "A" is associated with by other children if not by the respondent himself.

The way in which such interactive pressures may operate toward the production of a group scale is explicit in the case where the child is asked "Who is the most popular child in your class?" or, in effect, "Whom do you believe the group regards as most popular?" Here the child certainly need not name the same peer whom he has previously named as his own personal associate, but is rather encouraged to report the corporate point of view as he perceives it. But even if this question is rephrased to read "Whom do you like best in the class?" or "Whom would you like best to have as your friend?" group pressure may still be at work to induce him to name a child whom he perceives as

more acceptable to the group than the one who is his personal associate.

CONCLUSION

This discussion of the *object scale* or *group scale* is tentative, incomplete, and intended merely to indicate the kind of work which may be done if precision measures, such as scaling, are developed to treat the subject-orientation-object frame of reference. It proposes, in the first place, that more rigorous treatment, in line with the standards set by Guttman and Lazarsfeld, be applied to data which relate to multiple objects as well as multiple subjects.

In the second place, it suggests a systematic empirical approach to the concept of *group definition* especially as this is related to and generated by the collective action of the particular group under scrutiny. Most scales¹⁸ reflect interaction, in the sense that they abstract from the mass of individual definitions and individual attitudes that component which is common to all, such as the common definitions which derive from immersion in a common culture and the use in interaction of a common language. Subject scales measure the extent to which individuals share in this common component. Object scales, on the other hand, may result from group definitions which are contributed to in different ways by different group segments, each of which plays its distinctive role in the group.

Technical developments along these lines would, therefore, have particular usefulness for the sociologist, concerned as he is with the phenomena emerging from social interaction.

¹⁸ Except those which are biologically determined.

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THE CONJUGAL FAMILY AND THE EXTENDED FAMILY GROUP

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THE purpose of this paper is (1) to describe two kinship groups, the conjugal family¹ and an extended kinship grouping which is here called "the family group," and (2) to discuss some of the structural strains involved in the kinship structure of Beech Creek, an isolated neighborhood in the Kentucky Mountains.

In most ways the kinship structure of Beech Creek is like that of American society at large. It is a conjugal system in that it is constituted "exclusively of interlocking conjugal families."² In the typical case an individual in this mountain community, as in the greater American society, is during his life a member not of one but of two conjugal families, the family of orientation and the family of procreation.³ Speaking of the American kinship system, Parsons has pointed out that "this fact naturally is of central significance in all kinship systems, but in our own it acquires a special importance because of the structural prominence of the conjugal family and its peculiar isolation. In most kinship systems many persons retain throughout the life cycle a fundamentally stable—though changing—status in one or more extended kinship units. In our system this is not the case for anyone."⁴

The kinship structure of Beech Creek is a variant from the general, contemporary American pattern described by Parsons in that there are extended kinship groupings which are significant in the lives of the people. In analyzing structural strain, therefore, we will deal primarily with this question: To what extent do extended kinship relationships, and especially those within the family group, strengthen the conjugal family and

to what extent do they create strains and tensions?

The data on which this paper is based were gathered during six months of field work in the Beech Creek area in 1942 and 1943, supplemented by material gathered in periodic, short trips nearly every year since that time. The author openly assumed the role of "researcher" or "investigator," though the community's definition of this role was probably closer to that of "school-boy." At any rate rapport was established with Beech Creek people, no doubt partly because the investigator was a native of the Kentucky Mountains and had many contacts with people personally known in the neighborhood. The bulk of the data were gathered in more or less systematic interviews, especially with key informants who were strategically located in the kinship and class structure of the neighborhood. Field notes consist of: schedules containing data on genealogies, family visiting, family property, income and expenditures, migration, age, sex, school achievement, and church membership; journal entries made every day, which include descriptions of the situations in which the interviews took place, summaries of interviews not recorded verbatim, and descriptions of the behavior of Beech Creek people in many situations; and verbatim records of interviews.

THE BEECH CREEK NEIGHBORHOOD

Beech Creek lies in an Eastern Kentucky county. It was settled about 1800 by natives of Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, whose culture was predominantly English in background. The first families, who seem to have been Baptists for the most part, settled along the river and at the mouth of the creek. A few men rather early secured control of most of the land in the Beech Creek area, and it has been the children and grandchildren of these men who have remained there, for, as control of the land was

¹ See Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937, p. 159.

² Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, 45 (January-March 1943), p. 24.

³ W. Lloyd Warner, quoted in Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁴ Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

handed down from one generation to another, few outsiders could locate in the area permanently. As the population grew, clusters of people bound by more or less solidary ties came into being, forming approximately the present neighborhoods of Beech Creek and two nearby neighborhoods, Laurel and Flat Rock, which will also be discussed to some extent in this paper.⁵

Beech Creek has always been an area of self-sufficient, subsistence, family farms. Isolated from other parts of Kentucky, and in many ways from other parts of the Mountain region itself, it was not in the main tides of change, though lumbering came to the area in the 1870's and 1880's and increased its contacts with the greater society.

The families on Beech Creek lived along the bottomland of the main stream and its forks and branches; they were virtually surrounded by steep hills which rise from 300 to 500 feet above the valley floor. They were bound together, by many ties, into a real social group. Topography and geography, travel and mail routes, school districts, economic and informal social ties, common kinship and history, and cultural homogeneity were all more or less important as factors binding these families into a group with a sense of unity and solidarity. As compared with the Laurel neighborhood, however, the Beech Creek neighborhood was not strongly integrated. There were a number of reasons for this difference, one of which was that Beech Creek families were not as closely related by blood as those of Laurel.

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

The most important single social group in the Beech Creek neighborhood was the conjugal family.

Unlike most urban families, and even many rural families in the United States today, the Beech Creek family tended to be a unit of economic production and consumption. Consequently the economic roles of the family on the farm could not be separated,

except analytically, from their familial roles. Within each family a division of labor had been worked out, and this division of labor by age and sex was part of a longtime preparation for the assumption by each immature family member of his adult role in a conjugal family of his own. By the time they were 15 or 16 years old most children were able to assume full adult status so far as work techniques were concerned. In general the father-husband was expected to direct the farm work and to take the initiative in actually doing the work. The housewife was in charge of the house with her daughters as helpers under her direction.

The farm family had daily and seasonal patterns, though as nonfarm employment had become more important the old patterns had changed. Sometimes, for instance, the husband-father was away in industrial areas, or perhaps both he and his older sons worked locally in the forests or the sawmills.

Beech Creek households⁶ were large; in July 1942, the median size of 77 households in the Beech Creek area was 5.43. In 1940, only 14.1 per cent of the households in the United States as a whole had 6 or more members compared to 44.2 per cent of the Beech Creek households in 1942. Most of the Beech Creek households consisted primarily of single conjugal families, the most usual type of family being that including husband, wife and children.

Virtually everybody in the Beech Creek area married, and the few who remained single were looked on as odd and unusual.

There was no institutionalized pattern of arranged marriages, but choice of a spouse was not as free and undirected as it often is in present-day American urban life, no doubt partly because the spouse chosen had to fit into a family environment. Since the intimate, daily relationships of many more people than the young couple were involved, the choice usually reflected in some degree the common judgment of those affected. The pressure to make a choice which was acceptable to this wider group was not formal

⁵ In 1942 and 1943, when this study was begun, the Beech Creek neighborhood consisted of 39 households and had a total population of 184. The two nearby neighborhoods which are also discussed in this paper, Laurel and Flat Rock, contained 26 and 12 households respectively and had total populations of 133 and 74. Altogether, then, 77 households containing 391 people were studied.

⁶ "By household is meant all of the persons living together in a domicile who usually reside there; that is, who usually share the same table and sleep in the domicile." W. A. Anderson, *The Composition of Rural Households*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 713, 1939, p. 3.

or even obvious to a casual observer, but it was nevertheless there and was powerful. Marriage tended to be with local people.⁷

The Beech Creek family was closer to the patriarchal family than the American family in general. The husband was expected to be dominant in the husband-wife relationship.

Parents were clearly superordinate but they were expected to treat their children equally, regardless of birth-order or sex, though there was a tendency to favor, in some ways, the "baby" member of the family.

Relationships among siblings were much closer and stronger in many ways than in the urban middle-class family. One usual relationship noted was that in the larger families older children often developed relationships toward young brothers and sisters which in some ways were semi-parental. Furthermore in some of the very large families it was evident that there were clusters in which affectional ties were much stronger—for example, the oldest children on the one hand and the youngest children on the other.

THE FAMILY GROUP

Beech Creek people often said, "Everybody around here is kin," and observation proved that statement almost literally true. It was found that of the total number of possible single, closest blood relationships among the thirty-eight Beech Creek families, nearly three-fourths were kin relationships in some degree. Many of these relationships were those of third or fourth cousins, but 18.8 per cent of the total possible relationships were "close kin" (those of parents and children, siblings, aunts or uncles and nieces or nephews, grandparents and grandchildren or first cousins). An additional 24.0 per cent were relationships of first cousins once removed, or of second cousins. Comparable data for the Laurel neighborhood revealed

that there, too, nearly three-fourths of the total possible relationships were kin relationships in some degree; nearly half of the total relationships, moreover, were those of the close kin listed above; and an additional 13.2 per cent were relationships of first cousins once removed, or of second cousins. In Flat Rock neighborhood also, nearly half of the total relationships were those of parents and children, siblings, aunts or uncles and nieces or nephews, grandparents and grandchildren, or first cousins. It is obvious that according to this index kin relationships were extensive in all the neighborhoods, and that many of these were close blood relationships. It is also clear that Laurel and Flat Rock families were more closely related by blood than the Beech Creek neighborhood.

There were, of course, very vital differences in the relationships of people who were of different degrees of kinship. First cousins were usually closer friends and were more likely to come to each other's aid in a crisis than second cousins. And, as has already been mentioned, relationships among third cousins were not likely to be close, at least not merely because they were kin.

A quantitative indication of differences in relationships with kin of various degrees can be found in the visiting relationships of kin. Old parents and their adult children's families visited far more often than did families with any other blood relationship, and as the degree of kinship decreased the number of visits also tended to decrease. Thus, nearly three-fourths of the families of parents and of their adult children had visited their children's or their parents' families, as the case might be, more than a hundred times during the year, and more than a third had visited them an average of nearly once a day for the entire year. On the other hand, nearly two-thirds of the second cousins had not visited, and a fifth had visited only one to four times.

It was apparent early in the study that there were groups of two, three and four families in the Beech Creek neighborhood that were particularly solidary and friendly. These groups were most often groups of siblings' families or of siblings and their parental families; that is, they were extended families, or, as they are called here, "family groups." Similar family groups were found

⁷ Thus, about a third of the total marriages (28 of 86) of the heads and spouses who were living in the area on July 1, 1942, and for whom data were available, were marriages of persons from the same neighborhood; another third (30) were marriages of persons living in adjacent neighborhoods; a little more than a fourth (23) were marriages of persons living in nearby neighborhoods; and finally only about six per cent (5) were marriages of persons who lived quite far apart.

in the two other neighborhoods which were studied, Laurel and Flat Rock.

This grouping of families was not arrived at merely by finding out those having kinship ties. It is a delineation of significant, solidary social groups based upon observation of the relationships of the families with each other over a period of a year. There were, in fact, several instances in which the families of siblings were in different family groups. In these cases factors other than blood relationship determined the closer relationships of a family with a particular family group.

Members of different family groups were not necessarily sharply separated from each other. Many families placed in one family group had significant, even close, relationships with the people of another family group. Another point which must be made clear is that family groups were in a process of continuous change. During an individual's lifetime he passed through several stages in his relationships with kin. As a child he usually had his closest contacts, outside of his own family of orientation, with the families of his grandparents and his parents' siblings. Often close bonds of affection and solidarity very like those among brothers and sisters developed among first cousins. Aunts and uncles were highly regarded, and even after children had reached adulthood and had families of their own, they had close relations with their uncles and aunts, some of whom were looked on as "almost fathers and mothers." The Beech Creek adult, with his own family of procreation, had closest relationships with the families of his own and his wife's parents and siblings. And as an older parent, he tended to have closest contacts with his own children's families.

An individual's shifts from one family group to another in this cycle were not sudden but came about gradually over a period of years. At any specific time, an observer would find that family groups were at different stages in the cycle.

Earlier the comment was made that the Laurel neighborhood was more solidary than the Beech Creek neighborhood. This can be partly explained by the difference in extensity of family groups, which in turn is

related to the stage of the cycle of the family groups. The lack of any extensive family groups in the Beech Creek neighborhood was partly because the descendants of the man who owned most of the land had reached the stage of belonging to different family groups. Furthermore, the children of this man's sons and daughters had almost all migrated from the Beech Creek neighborhood so that there was no large group of siblings left. Also there had been an influx of outside families that were not related to the earliest settlers or to each other and therefore did not fit into any larger kinship group in the neighborhood. As the children of these outsiders grew up and formed families of their own, new but small family groups had been formed. The situation in the Laurel neighborhood was very different. Because of the stage in the cycle of family groups at which many Laurel families were, as well as for other reasons, Laurel family groups were much more extensive. Actually fourteen of the twenty-eight families in that neighborhood could be looked on as a single family group.

Family groups had a leadership structure. Often the old father, or occasionally the old mother, was the accepted leader. In some groups one of the sons was accepted as the leader.

Family groups were typically not only groups of close kin but also territorial groups. Often the families constituting a family group lived in a cluster, each family being closer to the other families in the family group than to any other family—usually because they had inherited parts of the same estate. The fact that they lived near each other meant that visiting among them was very frequent, often daily. It was primarily within the family group that members of different families—and again especially the children—ate with each other. On Sundays, particularly, members of a family group gathered at one family's house to share dinner together. Most cooperative farming activities were carried on within the family group. Through their daily intimate contacts the members of a family group built up a strong feeling of group solidarity. They thought of themselves as a group, and the neighborhood thought of them as a

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solidary group, often referring to such a group of families as "the Smiths" or "the Joneses," or perhaps by a nickname.

In crises the group stood together. It was expected that members of a group help each other in times of sickness and not to do so was to risk severe censure. When somebody died, men from the family group usually made the simple coffin, and members of all the families came to sit with the bereaved family and helped to take the body to the graveyard. If a mother or father died and left young children, and it became necessary for somebody else to care for them, members of the family group took the responsibility. If one of the families had trouble with an outsider in the neighborhood, the other families in the group could be counted on to rally to its support.

It was among the members of a family group that neighborhood happenings were discussed and group opinion was formed. Since members of the family group had such frequent contacts, information spread through the neighborhood primarily by contacts within these groups. Something said to one member of a group in the morning was usually known to everybody within the group by night. These groups were exceedingly important in controlling the actions of an individual, for hardly any decision was made without all the other members of the group knowing about it, discussing it, and reaching a common decision on it. An individual who had deviated from some accepted norm could count on family support against outsiders but he could also count on intra-group criticism and ridicule.

EXTENDED KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS AND THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

In this mountain society, help from persons outside the conjugal family must often be called for. Crises such as sickness, death, and fire, for example, cannot, in many cases, be met by the members of a single conjugal family alone. There are no organized governmental or private agencies such as city and town people can call on, so there is a need for a larger group which can share responsibilities—a group which one can count on whatever the circumstances. There is still a greater need of protection against outsiders

here than one finds in cities and towns; this is another need which the family group fulfills. Because marriage often takes place at such early ages in this society, young couples frequently need the help of their parents and siblings in getting started. Care of the old and the infirm is another function which a single family would have difficulty performing in this society but which a family group can meet much more adequately. Unquestionably one of the most important contributions the family group makes to the individual in the Beech Creek society is the feeling of belonging to a wider group with which he shares common values and ideals, within which he has affection and security and on which he can count for help in time of crisis. Solidarity among parents and their mature children and among adult siblings is one of the most significant influences in the lives of Beech Creek people.

From the description so far, it may appear that the conjugal family has only smooth sailing in this sea of kinship relationships, that everything is solidary and peaceful. Actually this is not the case; some of the strains and tensions which characterize the Beech Creek society will now be described.

The family of procreation was expected to be independent of the families of orientation of both the husband and the wife. Ties with both parents and siblings of the marriage partners, then, had to be weakened.

Around this point of strain clustered a number of patterns having as their function the buttressing of the new conjugal family's independence against too great interference from other families. Thus there was a strong belief in a separate residence for the new family; the consequent isolation of the new family had the effect of withdrawing it from many influences which might have threatened its independence. Usually when a Beech Creek couple married, they went to the husband's home to live temporarily. But they did not expect, and were not expected, to stay there very long—usually for not more than a year. In that time the young couple had probably accumulated enough household goods to set up housekeeping and had arranged to move into a house by themselves. Even if the couple planned to live on the

husband's father's farm, a separate house was considered necessary, so that the households could be independent. It was seldom satisfactory to have two families living in the same house, and almost every time such an arrangement was attempted, trouble—quarrels, bickering, and sometimes actual physical conflict—resulted. As one informant said, "Two families can't do no good together."

After long years of association in the intimate atmosphere of family life, it was difficult for both parents and child to orient themselves to the new situation created by the departure of children for their new families. Again and again mothers said, "I didn't want my children to marry," or stated they did not want to think about their children leaving. The ideal patterns demanded on the one hand that parents not interfere with the new family, and on the other that the spouse accept his responsibilities in the new home as his primary interest. If parents interfered in their children's families of procreation, the neighborhood disapproved. This is illustrated in the following case:

One mother did not want her two youngest daughters to marry, and even though they had been married several years, the mother was hoping that her two sons-in-law would be drafted so that her two girls could come home and live with her. Indeed, she was so unable to adjust to the new situation that she broke up the older daughter's first marriage by constant interference, and was attempting to break up her second marriage. Her youngest daughter still lived on the creek in the neighborhood, and it was evident that the mother was trying to alienate this daughter from her husband so that the daughter could come back home. The neighborhood was very critical of the mother, calling her "meddlesome." Even her son criticized his mother for her part in estranging his sister and her first husband, and said, "Though it'd make her firing mad to hear me say it, I think Ma was the main reason for their separating—she just kept harping about his ways."

There was no clear case in which a spouse retained too close ties with his parental family. But a few incidents were suggestive in this connection. One man lived only a few hundred yards from his father's house and his farm work often kept him closer to his father's than to his own house. Many

times the son was there with groups of people who were staying for dinner but he almost always went home to eat because, he said, his wife did not like it when he ate too often at his father's. This was, then, a way of keeping the husband's interest and attention from becoming too closely tied to his parental home.

Like the parent-child relationship the sibling-sibling relationship also tended to be weakened as the conjugal relationship was strengthened. That this was a point of strain in the Beech Creek kinship structure was evident from the jealousies, bickerings, and quarrels among siblings. There were, for example, six instances in the Beech Creek neighborhood in which there have been serious difficulties between the families of siblings.

Analysis of the differences among these families of siblings makes three points clear: (1) the antagonisms practically always arose after the siblings were grown and had families of their own; (2) many of these controversies centered around the spouse of one or the other, or perhaps both, of the siblings—that is, the old relationship of siblings is changed by the new relationships formed with spouses at marriage; (3) very often these antagonisms centered around "class differences." This aspect of the situation will be discussed later.

Each conjugal family was, of course, the center of two separate groups of kin, that of the husband and that of the wife. Since there was no institutionalized preference, a Beech Creek family was not expected to become more closely tied to one side or the other. Actually, however, there was a tendency for a family to be more closely tied to one group or the other, sometimes to the husband's and sometimes to the wife's kin, but more commonly to the husband's. Thus of the 52 families⁸ clustered into family groups, 32 (or 62 per cent) were associated with the husband's, and 19 (36 per cent) with the wife's kin; one family (2 per cent) was bound to the family group by blood relationships of both husband and wife.

One reason for this difference was that

⁸ Of the 63 families in family groups, 11 were parental families around which sons' and daughters' families were clustered; they were not, therefore, identified with either husbands' or wives' kin.

sons were more likely to remain on the family's land than were their sisters, although, according to the ideal pattern, each child—regardless of sex—was supposed to receive a share of the parental family's land. Since the parental families of spouses seldom lived side by side, it was inevitable if the new family settled on the land of one family or the other that it would be geographically closer to one parental family than the other.

Another factor, important both in determining the sons' greater likelihood of remaining on the family's land and in making for closer association with the husband's parental family, may be found in the structure of the family itself. The husband was expected to be the head of his family, to be dominant. When a man took his bride to his parental home, he was still in many ways subordinate to his parents. But this was a subordination to which he had become accustomed and which he had accepted for many years. A husband who went to his wife's home to live was inevitably, to some extent, subordinated to his wife's parents. This was a new subordination, and furthermore one which, because of the solidarity of his wife and her parents, might well threaten his status as head of the new family. Such a situation was likely to result in disagreement, or at least in a warped relationship of the new husband and his family.

Some families were attached to family groups consisting of the kin of one spouse or the other because only one spouse had kinfolk in the neighborhood. In 27 families the husband was a native of the neighborhood in which the family was living, the wife was not; in 14 families the wife was a native, the husband was not; in 13 families both were native; and finally in 9 families neither was native. Since geographical closeness to kin made for more intimate association, it is obvious that on this basis alone a greater proportion of the families in the three neighborhoods were more likely to develop stronger ties with the husband's than with the wife's kin. And such was the case.

The relative land resources of the spouse's parental families were also important in determining the location and relationships of a family. Thus, the parental families of two men (whose wives were sisters) owned no land; their father-in-law, however, was

the owner of some land and as care-taker for the land owned by outside companies controlled several Beech Creek farms. These two families had therefore settled on these places and had become closely identified with the family group of the wives' parents and siblings.

Class status, too, was a significant determinant. The fact, for example, that a woman whose parental family was intermediate-class married a member of a low-class family, tended to separate her family of procreation from that of her father and her brother (both intermediate class), neither of whom approved of her marriage.

There were many other individual reasons why a family became socially bound to one family group rather than another to which it had equally strong blood ties. For instance, one family was in a family group primarily because the husband was not dependable and the wife had been forced to rely a great deal on her parental family. In another case, an abnormally strong relationship between mother and daughters, as well as the land resources of the wives' parental family, helped to bind the families of these daughters to the family group clustered around their parents.

THE FAMILY GROUP AND CLASS MOBILITY

It was found that Beech Creek people ranked themselves into "classes" or "prestige groups." For many purposes a grouping of people into high-, intermediate-, and low-class groups conformed to the evaluation of the people themselves and was also convenient for the purposes of the study.

Obviously the inter-relationship of the kinship structure and the class structure is one of the most important aspects of the social structure to consider in a familistic society such as Beech Creek. An individual in the Beech Creek society, as in the American society at large, received his initial class status from his family of orientation. However, there was a tendency for a person's class status to be more largely an ascribed status than in the greater society, so that Beech Creek's class structure was closer to a caste system than that of the United States as a whole.

There were a number of reasons to account for this: the occupational structure

was different; Beech Creek society was characterized by stability of culture and fixity of residence to a much greater extent than American society as a whole; a much higher proportion of the socialization of Beech Creek children took place within the family.

Still another, and sociologically more pertinent, reason is that the class structure of Beech Creek had its setting in a familistic society in which the family group performed vitally important functions for the society and for the individual. The class system of this society had, therefore, developed in such a way as to protect the stability and solidarity of this wider kinship group. Great class mobility among members of a family group tended to be disruptive; consequently the prevention of too great mobility tended to preserve the solidarity of the group.

Beech Creek people were inclined to lump the members of a wider kinship group into one class and to rank equally the members of such a group even though some conjugal families within that group might, on the basis of their achievements alone, seem to have deserved higher or lower status. Contributing to this tendency was the fact that the history and background of all the families was well-known in the community. Some Beech Creek people inherited the stigma of their parents' sexual and other deviations from the mores. Thus one man was hampered in his attempt to rise in the class structure by the fact that his father was an illegitimate child. Some of the low-class families, for example, had made considerable achievements but were still considered low-class people, although they did occupy a somewhat special position in the lower class in that they were more highly esteemed by the upper classes than some of the other low-class families. Upper-class people strongly disapproved of intermarriage with these families simply because they belonged to a certain family. On the other hand some high-class members had seriously deviated from approved patterns, but family ties had been so strong that the class status of the deviant persons apparently had not been lowered, though their prestige had decreased.

There were a number of patterns tending to restrict the rise of one member of a kinship group above the others and which

tended therefore to preserve the solidarity of the wider group. Thus, there was much criticism of a low-class person who began to establish contacts with people of the upper classes and was inclined to neglect relationships with his own kin. The patterns of loyalty and friendship expected among a group of kin were in themselves brakes on the mobility of people "on the rise," for, in addition to the control by criticism if they failed to meet such expectations, the mobile people themselves had internalized feelings of loyalty and affection which were difficult to give up.

There was much jealousy of people who were succeeding to such an extent that they were exceeding their kin; this was especially noticeable, perhaps because it was most patently observable, in the economic sphere. For instance, in discussing why one of the local ministers was not paid, the minister's brother commented that the people he preached to were mainly his own kin, that he had a good farm and made as much from it as any of the others, and that his brothers and sisters didn't see why they should put his children through school by draining their own resources to pay him a salary.

Several other points should be made explicit. Family groups are continually changing. This means that while families with an original family group tend to have the same status, the individual conjugal families may develop quite differently, so far as class status is concerned, as they move along the cycle and become parts of different family groups.

As noted earlier, a conjugal family might become part of a family group centering around either the husband's or the wife's family. Consequently siblings were, in a number of cases, in different family groups. And, again, these different family groups sometimes developed in ways such that the families of siblings were in different classes or, as was more common, were differently evaluated within the same class.

Often, the development of status differences was so gradual that it produced relatively little strain among the siblings' families. In other instances siblings' families belonged to different class groups because one sibling had married into a family whose status was so low that his brothers and

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sisters more or less excluded him from their family group. In cases of this sort the excluded sibling's family probably became part of the family group of his spouse's siblings. Even in such cases as these the development was usually not rapid.

Class differences seemed definitely to weaken kinship solidarity. As a result, when people of different class statuses married, the new family tended to develop closer relationships with the kin of one spouse and to weaken relationships with the kin of the other, and thus to assume the class status of one spouse or the other (many factors entered into the determination of whether it would be with the side which had the higher or the lower class status).

Being in different family groups often meant that people lived considerable distances apart so that it was "natural" not to have everyday contacts with them. There was little doubt that territorial separateness and the resultant lessening of daily contacts helped to prevent difficulties which might easily have arisen because of the different class positions of two families.

The very vagueness of the class lines served a useful function in preserving the positive relationships formed among siblings (and indeed among other kinsfolk) who eventually occupied different class statuses. Kin with different class positions might not have intimate social relationships, but occasionally they did come together, and thus reaffirmed the presence and solidarity of what might be called "latent" kinship relationships. Crises such as sickness or death brought forth affirmations of solidarity among kin who occupied different levels in the class structure.

THE KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND THE GENERAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In conclusion, a few general comments on the relationship of the kinship structure and the rest of the social and cultural structure of Beech Creek may be made.

One big problem in the Beech Creek neighborhood, and in the Kentucky Mountain area as a whole, is the tremendous amount of hostility as evidenced in quarrels, bickering, and malicious gossip, as well as in actual physical conflict. One hypothesis which might be useful in understanding this

hostility is this: the need for repressing hostile desires toward members of one's family and family group, the most important groups in the society, may result in frustration and a transfer of aggression to people outside of these groups.

If we examine the basic orientations or dominant value configurations of the Beech Creek society, it appears that democracy, puritanism, traditionalism, and familism are among the most important. These basic orientations are not, of course, mutually exclusive; puritanism and democracy obviously overlap at many points. In many ways these orientations support each other. Traditionalism, for instance, reinforces the familism of the society, and familism, in turn, tends to preserve Beech Creek's traditionalism.

But it must also be said that at points these principles conflict, for, as Myrdal has said, "valuations simply cannot be treated as if they existed on the same plane. . . . Some valuations have general and eternal validity; others have validity only for certain situations."⁹ The emphasis on familism, for example, causes the class system of the Beech Creek society to veer in the direction of a caste system, as far as an individual's class status is concerned. It is therefore difficult for an individual to rise during his lifetime from the lowest to the highest class. Yet the puritanic and democratic emphases in the culture demand that an individual be judged on his own achievement, that his class status be an achieved rather than an ascribed status. There is here, then, a definite strain in the cultural structure.

What seems likely to happen in the Beech Creek society is that the more general valuations, those of puritanism and democracy, will increasingly be emphasized, and that the kinship structure will develop in such a way as to conform to the broader needs of the society. If the Beech Creek society develops an occupational and economic system like that of the greater society, its kinship system may also become a system more like that of the greater society, a system which "interferes least with the functional needs of the occupational system, above all in that it exerts relatively little pressure for the ascription of an individual's social

⁹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, pp. 1027-1028.

status . . . by virtue of his kinship status."¹⁰ For the Beech Creek society this would mean

¹⁰ Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, 45 (January-March 1943), pp. 34-35.

a greatly increased importance for the conjugal family and much less importance for the extended kinship ties. There was some evidence that such a change in the kinship structure was already beginning to take place.

FAMILY SIZE AS A FACTOR IN THE MARITAL ADJUSTMENTS OF COLLEGE COUPLES

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It has been traditionally assumed that children and marital happiness go together, and are causally related. Popular support for this belief has been claimed in the fact that approximately three-fifths of all divorces are between childless couples, which seems to suggest that children hold a marriage together. What this line of reasoning fails to acknowledge is that: (1) divorce is concentrated in the early years of marriage, prior to the start of childbearing for many couples; (2) divorce alone is a rather poor criterion of maladjustment in marriage, it being well known that many unhappy couples remain together because of the expense, stigma, or inconveniences of a formal separation; and (3) though statistically associated, divorce and childlessness may not necessarily be causally related.¹

Reported research on the relationship of family size to marital adjustment is contradictory. In the late twenties, Mowrer and

Mowrer observed that in discordant marriages, such as those dealt with by marital adjustment agencies, the chance for successful marriage decreases as number of children increases.² By way of contrast, Davis found greater happiness for wives with several children.³ Popenoe also reported a positive relationship between number of children and happiness in marriage, with the happy couples of his educated sample averaging 2.04 children as against 1.67 for the unhappy.⁴ No significant relationships in either direction were found by either Hamilton⁵ or Bernard.⁶

Several studies have suggested, either explicitly or implicitly, that the problem cannot be solved without first taking into account the attitudes of couples toward children. Burgess and Cottrell found happiness in marriage to be associated with desire for children, whether couples had any at the time of the study or not. These authors also found that poorest adjustment was with couples who had children which

¹ For an enlightening elaboration, with statistical supports, see Paul H. Jacobson, "Differentials in Divorce By Duration of Marriage and Size of Family," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (April 1950), pp. 235-44. Among other things, Mr. Jacobson shows that divorce rate differentials between childless and parent-couples are not as great as are commonly supposed, and that the general trend is for these differences to diminish with duration of marriage, the two rates being practically identical after the thirtieth wedding anniversary. Though the chances for divorce are somewhat greater for marriages without children, it has not been substantiated that the presence of children acts as a deterrent to divorce; rather, (p. 244) "divorce and childlessness are probably concomitant results of more fundamental factors in the marital relationship."

² E. R. Mowrer and H. R. Mowrer, *Domestic Discord*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928, as cited by Lewis Terman, et. al., *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938, p. 173.

³ Katherine Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929, p. 47.

⁴ Paul Popenoe, *Modern Marriage*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940, p. 268.

⁵ G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage*, New York: Lear, 1948, p. 511.

⁶ Jessie Bernard, "Factors in the Distribution of Success in Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 40 (July 1934), p. 51.

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they did not desire.⁷ Terman found no correlations between presence of children and happiness in marriage, but suggested that this may be because opposing influences tend to balance each other out in a large sample and that the presence of children may actually affect any given marriage either way.⁸ Landis and Landis reported that the happy and unhappy groups of their sample both tended to get larger as size of family decreased, and that childless couples fell at the two extremes of the happiness scale.⁹ Locke, in comparing his happily married and divorced groups (with duration of marriage controlled) found the happily married to be significantly higher on desire for children, but there were no substantial differences regarding either childlessness or size of family.¹⁰ Hill, in his study of the crises of separation and reunion incident to war, reported negative relationships between adjustment to crisis on the one hand and both actual and desired family size on the other.¹¹ Reed, in a careful study of 1444 "relatively fecund" Indianapolis couples, found an inverse relationship between marital adjustment and family size. He further discovered "an increase in marital adjustment with increasing success in controlling fertility according to the desires of the couple."¹²

Our Purdue study to be reported below, was initiated to provide additional testing of this problem.

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURE

The completed sample consisted of 346 married couples living within a student hous-

⁷ Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939, p. 260.

⁸ Lewis M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. 171-73.

⁹ Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948, p. 434.

¹⁰ Harvey J. Locke, *Predicting Adjustment in Marriage: A Comparison of a Divorced and a Happily Married Group*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1951, pp. 158-70.

¹¹ Reuben Hill, *Families Under Stress*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. 126-28.

¹² Robert B. Reed, *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility*; VII, "The Interrelationship of Marital Adjustment, Fertility Control, and Size of Family," New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1948, pp. 383-425; quotation from page 423.

ing area at the university. At least one member of each married pair was a veteran and a student. The mean length of marriage was 4 years and 2 months; mean ages, 27.1 years for husbands and 25.6 for wives; mean cumulative education, 15.5 years for husbands and 13.3 for wives; mean number of children, 1.2 per family. The group was predominantly urban and Protestant. Only first marriages were considered.

The schedule was built in three separate sections: (1) background information concerning respondents, including number of children resulting from the marriage; (2) the Burgess-Cottrell-Wallin Marriage Adjustment Form; and (3) a group of questions designed to test the attitudes of couples regarding marriage and parenthood in the college setting.

Interviews were carefully conducted by field workers during July and August, 1950. Generally, two contacts were made with each family. During the first, the purpose of the study was explained, background information collected, and an appointment made for a second call at a time when both spouses would be present. At this second interview, parts two and three of the schedule were administered to each mate separately and without collaboration. Cooperation by respondents was high, as evidenced by the fact of only eight refusals.

Finally, data from the schedules were punched on IBM cards and analyzed statistically for significant relationships.

TESTING THE CENTRAL PROBLEM

We were concerned first of all to know if family size is in any way related to marital adjustment in this college sample. To test this, adjustment scores were calculated for each spouse and related to number of children within the family. Results are shown in Table 1.

It will be noted that: (1) the average score of husbands was 23.0 and of wives, 28.0, neither of which is particularly high.¹³ (2) With the exception of two-child families,

¹³ The original prediction table shows these scores to be in the "somewhat adjusted" category, or a little above average. See Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family: From Institution to Companionship*, New York: American, 1945, p. 787.

TABLE 1. MEAN MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES, BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN PRESENT FAMILY*

Number of Children	Number of Cases	Marriage adjustment scores	
		Husbands	Wives
0	77	25.4	35.6
1	170	20.9	26.4
2	79	23.2	22.4
3	20	31.4	35.0
Total	346	23.0	28.0

* Since there were only three families with four or more children, the analysis has been limited to cases having three or fewer.

wives show greater adjustment than do husbands.¹⁴ This is particularly true with the childless group. (3) In general, the observed relationship between family size and the marital adjustments of both husbands and wives is a negative one. This is especially evident in the comparisons of childless mates with those having one or two children.

It is this last generalization that interests us most at this time. For wives, score differences between the childless and the one-child families were found to be statistically significant at the five per cent level of confidence, and between the childless and the two-child families, significant at the one per cent level. Other differences were not found to be significant. For husbands, none of the variations in score were found to be statistically significant. Nevertheless, it should be noted that their scores reflect a similar pattern to that of the wives. In this Purdue sample, therefore, marriage adjustment of wives is found to vary inversely with family size (up to two children) and the presumption of a similar relationship for husbands is raised.

As will be noted also, adjustment scores go up again with three children, suggesting a curvilinear relationship. We view this with caution, however, since the number of cases in the three-child category is small and score

¹⁴ There were 199 wives with higher scores than their husbands and 137 husbands with higher scores than their wives, the average score differences being 23.3 and 20.6 respectively. Coefficients of $-40 \pm .03$ and $-.53 \pm .03$ were found when the discrepancies between husband and wife scores were correlated with the scores of husbands and wives respectively. This suggests that when one spouse is well adjusted the mate will also tend to be well adjusted.

differences between this and the two-child group do not approach statistical significance.

TAKING VALUES INTO ACCOUNT

Perhaps number of children is not so important to marital adjustment as the way couples value the children they have, or do not have, in light of their circumstances. To test this possibility several questions were asked, each of which will be discussed in turn.

(1) *How many children do you desire during the course of your married life?*

Table 2 presents frequencies and marital adjustment scores arranged by ultimate

TABLE 2. MEAN MARITAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES, BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN DESIRED DURING ENTIRE MARRIAGE

Number of Children Desired	Husbands		Wives	
	Number	Score	Number	Score
1	6	1.2	9	5.4
2	78	19.4	68	22.4
3	126	23.9	130	29.1
4	85	27.9	85	33.2
5 or more	23	24.4	24	29.9
Total*	318	23.4	316	27.9

* Twenty-eight husbands and 30 wives did not respond to query.

number of children desired. It will be noted that more of the respondents wanted three children than any other number. No significant relationship was found between actual and desired number of children.¹⁵

In general, marital adjustment was found to increase with size of desired family—up to four children, at least. Statistically significant differences, at the five per cent level of confidence, were found between those desiring four children and those desiring only one or two offspring. This was true for both spouses. In addition, the difference in wives' scores between those desiring three and those desiring only one child was also found to be statistically significant.

¹⁵ Mean number of children desired by husbands was 3.42, and by wives, 3.44. Arranged by size of present families, means were 3.23, 3.17, 3.50, and 3.76; and 3.46, 3.10, 3.33, and 3.87, for husbands and wives and for the childless, one-child, two-child, and three-child groups respectively.

This positive relationship between desire for children and marital adjustment, in the face of our earlier reported negative relationship between actual number of children and marital adjustment, suggests that some couples who want children eventually are, nevertheless, having them before they are ready. This failure in timing may result in partial maladjustment because of the disappointments and increased hardships frequently involved. Certain questions which follow bear upon this same point.

(2) *Were all of your children planned?*

For obvious reasons, this question was asked only of the couples having children. Husband and wife responses agreed in a remarkable manner, with only 14.4 per cent showing contradictory answers. The percentage of all parents saying that all of their children were planned was 34.4. This percentage differed by size of family, being 37.3 for parents with one child, 26.8 for parents with two children, and 23.0 for parents with three children. Thus, nearly two-thirds of these parents had "unplanned" children, with the proportion going up as size of family increased.

Table 3 compares adjustment scores ac-

TABLE 3. MEAN MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENT SCORES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES, BY PLANNED AND UNPLANNED STATUS OF CHILDREN AND BY SIZE OF FAMILY

Number of Children	Marriage Adjustment Scores			
	Children Planned		Children Unplanned	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
1	19.7	32.9	21.7	21.3
2	31.6	39.6	20.2	18.4
3	65.4	40.4	22.8	33.2

cording to the planned and unplanned status of children. It will be observed that, with one exception, scores are higher for couples in the "planned" group. As a further test, family size was disregarded, momentarily, so as to obtain larger numbers in the "planned" and "unplanned" categories for purposes of statistical manipulation. When the wives' scores of these combined groups were compared, the group with unplanned children was found to be lower, significant at

the one per cent level of confidence. Similar comparisons between the husband groups showed non-significant differences but in the same direction as with the wives.

Another observation is that adjustment scores tend to increase with size of family in the "planned" husband and wife groups, but fail to do so in any uniform manner in the "unplanned" groups. We have already noted that "unplanned" families have the lower scores, and that the percentage of "unplanned" families increases with size of family. It would seem, therefore, that a major factor in the negative relationship between family size and marital adjustment, observed earlier in the paper, is the increasing presence of unplanned children as the family gets larger. If all children were planned, it may be that the relationship to marital adjustment would be a positive one as shown in the "planned" columns of Table 3.

(3) *If starting over again, knowing what you now know, would you have fewer, the same number, or more children than you now have?*

A child may be unplanned but definitely welcomed at birth or at a later age in life. In other words parental attitudes may change with time. The above question was designed to discover how parents presently feel about the sizes of their families, after experience had operated.

Approximately sixty per cent of those answering said they would have the same number of children if doing it over again, compared with thirty per cent who said more and ten per cent who said fewer. Percentages differed by size of present family, as shown in Table 4. In general, percentages desiring fewer children increased with size of present family, while those desiring the same number or more decreased. This supports our earlier finding concerning parallel increases between unplanned children and family size, and is an evidence of internal consistency within the study.

Among the groups answering "fewer," "same," and "more," mean marriage adjustment scores were 10.0, 24.3, and 24.4 for husbands and 13.5, 28.2, and 29.8 for wives respectively. Statistical significance at the five per cent level of confidence was found between those desiring fewer children and

all others combined, for both husbands and wives. This supports our earlier finding concerning lower adjustment scores for parents with unplanned children.

For the "would not wait," "uncertain," and "would wait" categories, adjustment scores were 27.8, 18.3, and 14.7 for husbands and 32.4, 27.5, and 19.4 for wives respec-

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES DESIRING FEWER, SAME NUMBER, OR MORE CHILDREN IF STARTING OVER AGAIN, BY SIZE OF PRESENT FAMILY

Children Desired as Compared with Present Number	Number Answering		Number of Children in Present Family							
			0		1		2		3	
	Husband	Wife	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W
Fewer	30	28			9.3	11.4	13.4	9.7	26.3	15.8
Same	167	167	35.5	30.8	58.0	56.3	69.0	77.8	57.9	73.7
More	89	80	64.5	69.2	32.7	32.3	17.6	12.5	15.8	10.5

EXPLORING THE EFFECTS OF COLLEGE ATTENDANCE

Some of the questions made explicit reference to the college situation.

- (4) *If starting over again, knowing what you now know, would you wait until after college to marry?*

About seventy-five per cent of all answering seemed satisfied; that is, they said that they would not wait if doing it over again. This compares with fifteen per cent who would wait and ten per cent who were uncertain. Husbands and wives did not differ significantly in this respect.

Marital adjustment scores were 29.3, 10.5 and 2.6 for husbands and 33.4, 21.0, and 3.4 for wives respectively, according to the "would not wait," "uncertain," and "would wait" categories. For both spouses, scores between those who were either uncertain or would wait and those who would not wait were found to be significantly different at the one per cent level of confidence.

- (5) *If starting over again, knowing what you now know, would you wait until after college to have children?*

Husbands and wives agreed rather closely in answering this, with about fifty eight per cent saying that they would not wait, twenty seven per cent saying that they would wait, and fifteen per cent remaining uncertain. Thus more spouses would wait to have children than to get married, if doing it over again, though in both cases the majority tended to endorse their past behavior.

tively. Score differences between those who would and those who would not wait were found to be significant at the one per cent level of confidence, for both husbands and wives.

- (6) *Does your and/or your spouse's attendance at college aid or disturb your marriage adjustment?*

Of the more than three hundred couples who answered, approximately twenty-eight per cent said that college attendance aids their marital adjustments, thirty-two per cent that it disturbs, and forty per cent that it has no effect. Husband and wife answers were not significantly different. Comparisons by present family size revealed some significant differences for the husbands, with the childless feeling that college is an aid to marriage adjustment more often than those with either one or two children.

Husbands who felt that college attendance aids marital adjustment had a mean adjustment score of 34.6, compared with 11.0 for those who felt that it disturbs. Similar figures for the wives were 28.7 and 15.8 respectively. For both spouses, differences were significant at the one per cent level of confidence.

- (7) *Does the presence of children in your family aid or disturb your marriage adjustment while in college?*

About forty per cent of the answering parents indicated that children are an aid to marital adjustment, twenty per cent that they disturb, and forty per cent that they

have no effect. Husband and wife answers were similar. Wives with one child tended more to regard the situation as aiding marriage adjustment, while those with two children regarded it more as a disturbing factor. This difference was significant at the two per cent level of confidence.

For the "aids" and "disturbs" categories, scores on marital adjustment were 27.2 and 8.2 for husbands, and 26.2 and 10.3 for wives respectively. In both instances, differences were significant at the one per cent level of confidence.

- (8) *Does the presence of children in your family aid or disturb the successful accomplishment of your college work?*

Because of the extremely small number of wives attending college, only husband responses were analyzed for this question. Of those answering, about twenty-five per cent felt that children are an aid to college success, thirty-eight per cent that they disturb, and thirty-seven per cent that they have no effect. Thus more fathers thought that children disturbed scholastic accomplishment than thought they aided it. A greater proportion of one-child fathers thought that the child's presence contributed to school success than did fathers with two or more offspring, but the difference was not significant.

Husbands who felt that children are an aid to college achievement had a mean marital adjustment score of 29.7, compared with 16.9 for those who felt that children disturb. The difference was significant at the one per cent level of confidence.

SUMMARY AND THEORY

In this sample of Purdue students, we have found the relationship between family size and marital adjustment to be a negative one. This agrees with several other researchers; notably, the Mowrers, Hill, and Reed, cited earlier in the paper. Each of these studies, including our own, has been of a highly selected segment of the population characterized by one or more specialized "problems"—the Mowrers were concerned with couples who appealed to social agencies for help; Hill limited his investigation to war-torn families; Reed's sample was from a large metropolitan center; and our own study involved a relatively young group en-

gaged in the pursuit of higher education. Could it be that such things as family friction, war tension, urban living, and college competition create situations that make children undesirable to parents who might otherwise welcome them?

Our data give strong support to Reed's claim; namely, that marital adjustment increases according to the ability of couples to control fertility in line with their desires. In the present study, comparisons regarding marriage adjustment showed the following classes of individuals with significantly lower scores; (1) those desiring only one or two children; (2) those with unplanned children; (3) those desiring fewer children than now if they could start over again; (4) those who would wait until after college to marry if they could start over again; (5) those who would wait until after college to have children if they could start over again; and (6) those who felt that either college attendance or the presence of children disturbs either their marital adjustment or school performance. All of these give evidence of discontent or unmet desires.

It would seem that college attendance, when combined with marriage and parenthood, creates family tensions for some of the persons involved. We found the following factors to vary directly with size of family: (1) the proportion of parents having unplanned children; (2) the proportion of parents desiring fewer children if starting over again; (3) the proportion of husbands feeling that college attendance is a disturbing factor in marriage; and (4) the proportion of wives feeling that children disturb marriage adjustment while husband is still in school. Explanations given by respondents for their answers are revealing. Those persons who felt that college attendance is a disturbing factor in marital adjustment explained as follows: there are financial sacrifices and worries involved; living conditions are often unsatisfactory; school and lessons take too much time from home life; there is too little time for recreation; tensions from school are often transferred into the home; and the realization that the situation is temporary keeps one unsettled. Parents who felt that children are a disturbance to either marital adjustment or college performance listed the following reasons: they

increase the economic demands; they complicate the housing situation; the added noise and distraction make studying difficult; and the added responsibility requires extra time, such as for night duty in case of infancy or illness, and for play "when daddy comes home."

Thus there is apparently no simple relationship between number of children and marital adjustment applying equally to all populations and all families. More important than sheer number is the value parents place on children, and this varies widely according to the personalities of the spouses and the circumstances that surround them. Insofar as family size is related to marital adjustment it is the discrepancy between expectation and realization that is important, and to determine this it is necessary first of all to take the values of people into account. In our own study, it has been evident that, for many students, the pressure of school work is sufficient to give children a negative value—at least during the college years. If pregnancies come anyway, unplanned, the result will likely be frustration and competing interests, which, in turn, may adversely

affect the marriage relationship. It seems likely that other groups, in this highly competitive and insecure society of ours, are under similar pressure and in those groups we would also expect to find family size negatively related to marriage adjustment. Where pressure is less, or the desires of spouses regarding children are met, it seems likely that the relationship would be a positive one. And in addition to group variables in the values surrounding children there are the many personal differences which people hold. Therefore, as earlier suggested, the presence and number of children may affect any given marriage either way.

Students of measurement in marriage prediction and adjustment are coming to realize that their scale norms must be built from the culture and class to which the tests will find application. An additional suggestion, based upon our research experience with this one factor of family size is that the individual values of the persons tested be taken into account so that the norms, insofar as is possible, will reflect the degree to which each person realizes his own goals.

MIGRATION WITHIN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON: 1935-40*

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THIS study is a summary analysis of population migration within the State of Washington between 1935 and 1940. The basic data have been derived largely from special tabulations of the 1940 Decennial Census.¹

* Special acknowledgement is made to Vincent A. Miller for his outstanding assistance in the preparation of this paper. In addition, valuable aid was rendered by Warren Kalbach, Don Gibbons, Marie Jackson, Elaine Corke, Mildred Giblin, and David S. Bushnell.

¹ Comparatively few systematic state-wide studies of population migration have been made in this country. The most comprehensive one to date is Warren S. Thompson's *Migration Within Ohio, 1935-40*, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Oxford, Ohio, 1951.

Shortly before the punched cards for the 1940 Census were scheduled to be destroyed, Dr. Thomp-

son elicited the financial assistance and cooperation of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Bureau of the Census, Scripps Foundation, and other agencies and individuals to have special tabulations of within-state migration statistics made for the entire country. The present study is one of several studies of its kind now being carried on in various parts of the United States.

Restriction in space has made it necessary to present only the more significant interpretations, conclusions, and generalizations, with no formalized listing of hypotheses and with only a minimum of supporting statistics. Most conclusions and generalizations have been incorporated into the main body of the paper. Also, in order to conserve space and at the same time make the data and interpretations clear and comprehensible, extensive use has been made of graphic techniques.

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BASIC CONCEPTS

The basic question on the 1940 census schedule relating to migration was phrased as follows: "In what place did this person live on April 1, 1935?" The definition of a migrant according to the 1940 census included: "(a) those living in different counties in 1940 and 1935; (b) those living in a city of 100,000 or more in 1940, but living elsewhere in the same county in 1935; and (c) those living in a city of 100,000 or more in 1935, but living elsewhere in the same county in 1940."

The within-state migration data have been tabulated according to subregions. Subregions consist of one or more contiguous counties grouped together largely in terms of their relative economic and demographic homogeneity.

There are two types of subregions:²

(a) *Metropolitan subregions*—Composed of a large city, chiefly those having 100,000 or more inhabitants, and the counties containing or surrounding such cities (in some highly metropolitanized areas two counties or more). Each metropolitan subregion consists, therefore, of a central city and its surrounding suburban "ring."

(b) *Nonmetropolitan subregions*—The remaining counties in the state which are divided into several groups, their agricultural homogeneity being the chief criterion of classification.

The various subregions and central cities for the State of Washington are indicated on Figures 1, 2, and 3.

Demographic and ecological characteristics of subregions. The differentiation of the State of Washington into two large areas—one west and the other east of the Cascade Mountain Range—is perhaps the most distinctive as well as the most significant ecological fact affecting intra-state migration. The western part characteristically represents a relatively mountainous evergreen belt with dense forests, heavy precipitation, and moderate climate. The dominant landscape features in the eastern section are the semi-arid Columbia River Plateau and scattered mountain and forest areas. Climatic

differences, particularly temperature and rainfall, manifest greater fluctuations in the eastern than in the western segment of the state. Figure 1 portrays certain demographic and ecological differences among the various subregions. In terms of population numbers and density and in economic productivity, the area west of the Cascades ranks higher than the area east of the Cascades. Metropolitan Subregion A, which includes the Cities of Seattle and Tacoma (King and Pierce Counties) is ecologically dominant over not only the area west of the Cascades but the entire state. Metropolitan Subregion B, of which Spokane is the central city, is the focal point of the Inland Empire, which includes most of eastern Washington, northern Idaho, and part of western Montana and northeastern Oregon.³ The per capita productivity measured in terms of value added by various major economic activities gives Subregion A the highest rank with \$1,439. The per capita productivity for the City of Seattle is \$2,063, for the City of Tacoma, \$1,330, and for the ring \$393. Subregion B is second highest with \$1,091. The City of Spokane is only slightly higher than Tacoma with \$1,332. The ring for Subregion B showed a per capita rate of \$402. For the three non-metropolitan subregions, Subregion 3 is first with \$973, Subregion 2 is second with \$843, and Subregion 1 is lowest with \$737.

Since it was assumed that economic factors are of primary importance in the migration process, a detailed study was made between differences in economic conditions among the several subregions in 1935 and 1940 and changes that occurred during this period. Variables selected for analysis included: (1) total income reported by individuals, 1934; (2) bank deposits, 1934 and 1939; (3) public welfare obligations incurred by counties, 1934 and 1939; (4) business and occupation taxes accrued, 1935-36 and 1939-40; and (5) retail sales taxes accrued, 1935-36 and 1939-40. Separate correlations were made between per capita differences of pairs of subregions for each economic char-

² Warren S. Thompson and Donald J. Bogue, "Subregional Migration as an Area of Research," *Social Forces*, 27 (May, 1949), pp. 392-400.

³ For more extensive treatment of ecological differences between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, see Donald J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community: A Study of Dominance and Subdominance*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBREGIONS

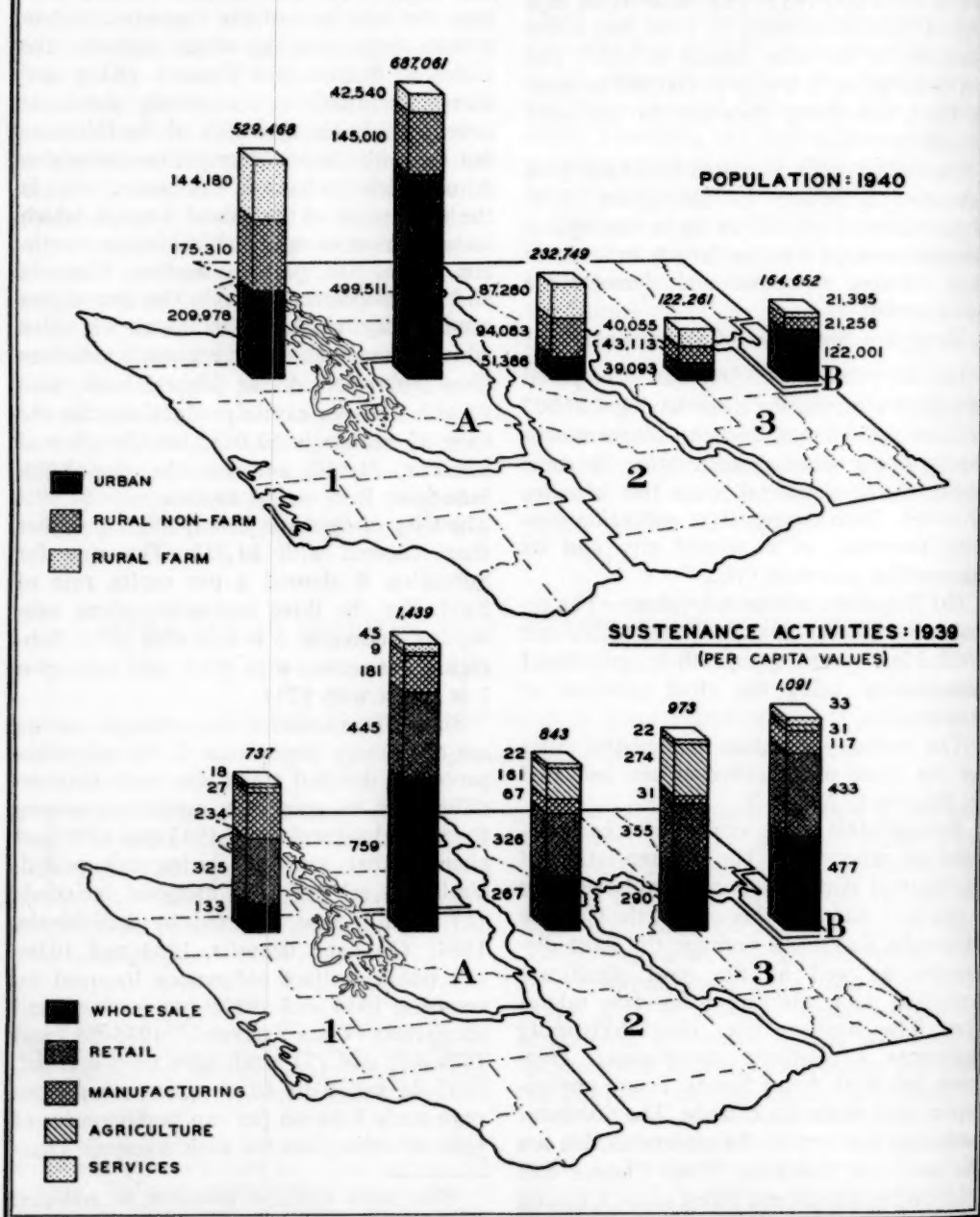


FIGURE 1.

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acteristic and net migration between the subregions. Because of limitation of space only a few summary statements can be included: (1) In support of the hypothesis that migrants tend to move from economically lower to economically higher subregions, net migration lay in the expected direction in most, but not all, instances. (2) In support of the hypothesis that migrants tend to move from subregions having a lower rate of increase in economic activity to subregions having a higher rate of increase, net migration lay in the expected direction in most, but not all, instances. (3) All correlations were positive, ranging from low to moderate in size but not statistically significant. Examination of the scattergrams indicates that deviations of the observed values from a line of regression of Y on X would be relatively large.⁴

STREAMS OF MIGRATION

In 1940, out of a total population in Washington of 1,736,191, there were 177,840 within-state migrants. In addition, 187,200 moved to Washington from other states and 106,800 left Washington since April 1, 1935. Our interest is in the 177,840 within-state migrants who moved from (a) one subregion to another, (b) to and from the central cities within the metropolitan subregions, and (c) between the central cities and non-metropolitan subregions.

Migration between metropolitan and non-metropolitan subregions. Figures 2 and 3 graphically portray the volume and direction of migration between the two metropolitan subregions and the three nonmetropolitan subregions. It will be observed that the heaviest streams of migration occurred between nonmetropolitan Subregion 1 and metropolitan Subregion A. The total number

of immigrants from Subregion 1 to Subregion A was 19,427; the contrary movement was 20,280. The number of immigrants to Subregion A from the remaining subregions is as follows: Subregion 2, 7,516; Subregion B, 3,582; and Subregion 3, 2,275. Of the total of 32,800 immigrants to Subregion A, 17,000 went to Seattle, 4,217 to Tacoma, and 11,583 to the ring.

The total amount of outmigration from Subregion A was 28,184 which indicates a net gain of 4,616. With respect to net migration between Subregion A and the other subregions, Subregion 1 was the only one that showed a gain. In general, it can be said that the western part of the state gained at the expense of the eastern part.

In comparison to Subregion A, Subregion B reflects a considerably smaller volume of in- and outmigration (Figure 3). Moreover, Subregion B recorded a net migrant loss of 368 people.

Although the actual numbers of migrants to and from particular areas are significant, it also is essential to derive some measure of the intensity of migration by relating actual numbers to the resident populations of the in- and outmigrant areas. For example, the number of outmigrants from Subregion A between 1935 and 1940 comprised 28,184 people and the estimated total population 5 years of age and over was 616,146 in 1935. Accordingly, the outmigration rate per 1,000 of population was 45.7. The corresponding figures for Subregion B are as follows: outmigrants, 11,450; estimated 1935 population 5 years of age and over 147,480, rate 77.6 per 1,000.⁵

The immigration rates for Subregions A and B are 50.7 and 71.8, respectively.

Migration within metropolitan subregions. One of the most significant characteristics of the internal migration pattern for the state of Washington is the relatively large population increments added to the ring areas of the metropolitan subregions both from the

⁴ This phase of the study of intra-state migration in Washington will be covered in more detail in a doctoral dissertation now being written by Mr. Griswold.

⁵ In- and outmigration rates are computed according to the following formulas:

$$M_i = \left(\frac{\text{Number of immigrants to a given area}}{\text{enumerated 1940 resident population 5 years and over}} \right) \left(\frac{1,000}{1} \right)$$

$$M_o = \left(\frac{\text{Number of outmigrants from a given area}}{\text{estimated 1935 population 5 years and over}} \right) \left(\frac{1,000}{1} \right)$$

MIGRATION TO AND FROM SEATTLE-TACOMA METROPOLITAN SUBREGION

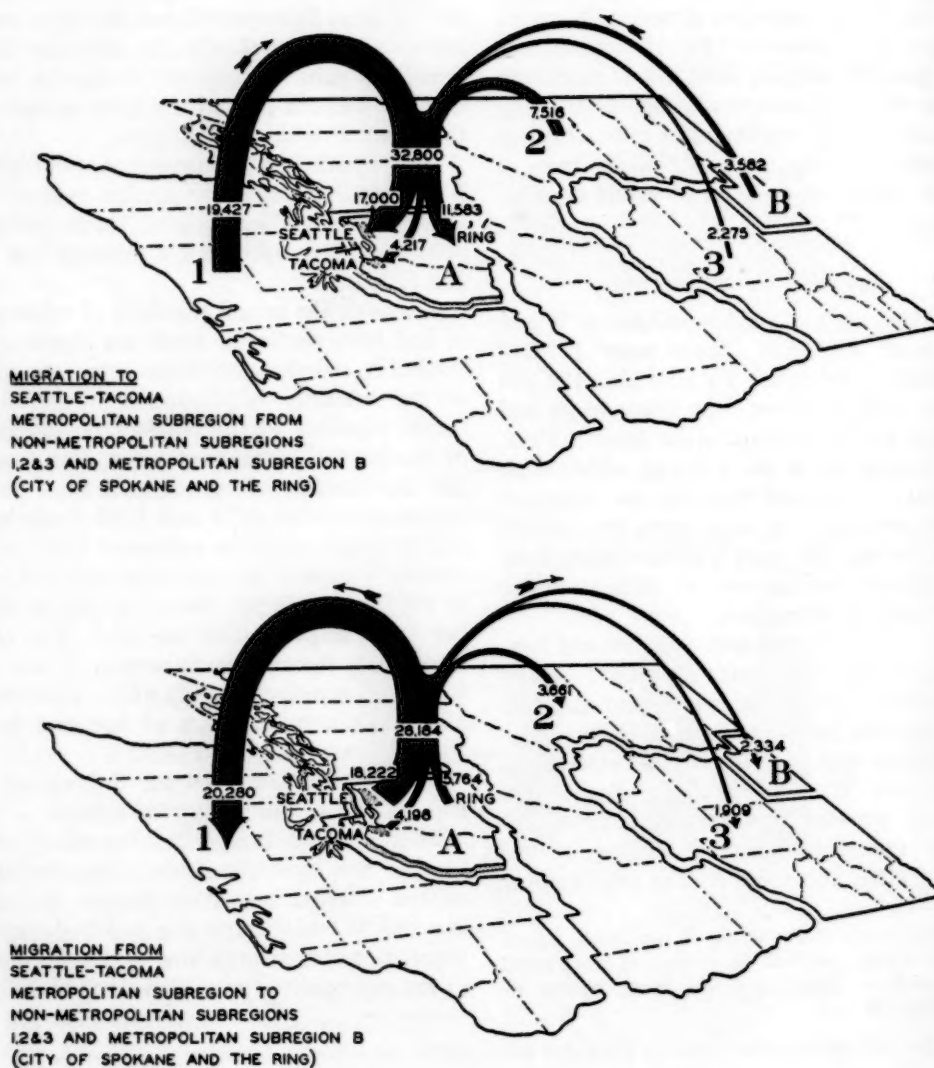


FIGURE 2.

MIGRATION TO AND FROM SPOKANE METROPOLITAN SUBREGION

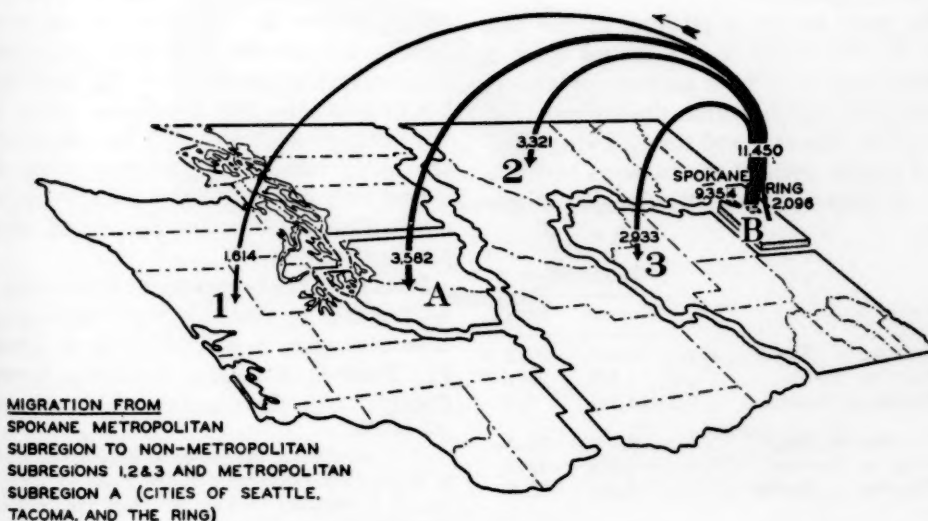
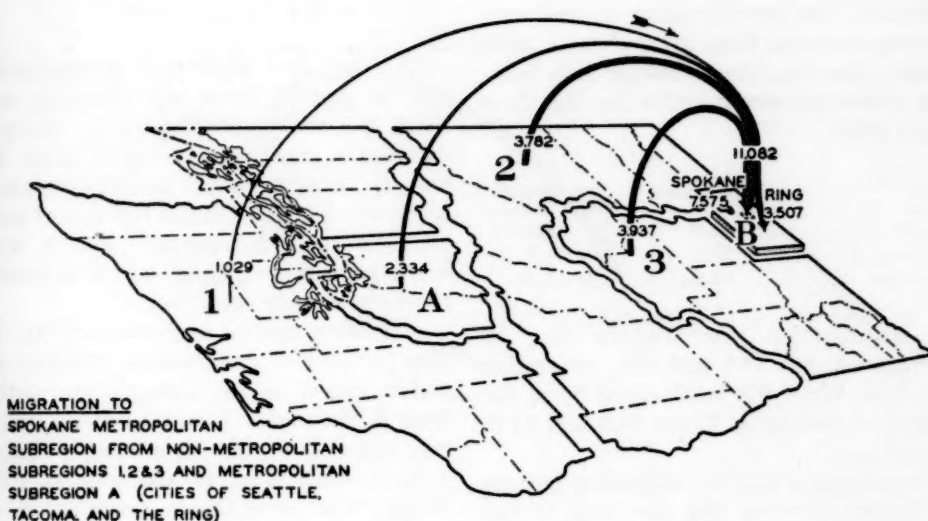


FIGURE 3.

central cities and from the nonmetropolitan subregions. It will be noticed from Figures 2 and 3, for example, that 5,764 people moved away from and 11,583 moved to the ring of Subregion A; the corresponding figures for Subregion B are 2,096 and 3,507. For the cities of Seattle and Tacoma, respectively, outmigrants comprised 18,222 and 4,198 and immigrants, 17,000 and 4,217. The number of outmigrants for the city of Spokane was 9,354, as compared to 7,575 immigrants. The corresponding in- and outmigration rates for these areas show a much greater disparity. The following is a summary of in- and outmigration for the three central cities.

City	Outmigration	Inmigration
Seattle	60.0	48.7
Tacoma	13.5	41.0
Spokane	84.1	66.3

The outmigration rate for the ring of Subregion A was 34.1 and the immigration rate, 59.6. Out- and immigration rates for the ring of Subregion B are 57.8 and 87.9, respectively.

It is apparent that the migration pattern for Tacoma is more like the rings of the metropolitan subregions than like either Seattle or Spokane.

The more favorable position of the ring areas in comparison to the central cities is further emphasized when an analysis is made of migration trends within the metropolitan subregions. Figure 4 and the following tabulation clearly portray the patterns and volume of intra-metropolitan-subregion migration:

Subregion A	Outmigration	
	Number	Rate
Seattle to Ring.....	19,761	57.1
Ring to Seattle.....	4,418	26.1
Seattle to Tacoma.....	1,793	5.2
Tacoma to Ring.....	5,300	52.5
Ring to Tacoma.....	2,710	16.0
Tacoma to Seattle.....	2,411	23.9
Subregion B		
Spokane to Ring.....	3,976	35.7
Ring to Spokane.....	1,909	52.7

Summary of migration trends between nonmetropolitan subregions. The major

streams of migration between the three non-metropolitan subregions are presented in summary tabular form as follows:

Subregion	Outmigration	
	Number	Rate
1 to 2.....	3,344	7.2
2 to 1.....	5,988	30.6
1 to 3.....	1,466	3.2
3 to 1.....	2,037	18.8
2 to 3.....	4,165	21.3
3 to 2.....	4,100	37.9

At least two significant generalizations can be derived from the foregoing data. First, the outmigration rates by subregion manifest a consistent westward trend. Second, in terms of actual numbers, a similar tendency obtains except in the case of movements between Subregions 2 and 3, where a relatively slight balance occurs in favor of the more easterly area.

*Migration streams and distance.*⁶ In relation to the two metropolitan Subregions A and B, Subregion 1 is nearest A and farthest from B. Subregion 2 may be considered intermediate to A and B, whereas Subregion 3 is farthest from A and nearest to B. Within this approximate ordering of distance, the following observations can be made concerning immigration to Metropolitan Subregion A: (1) There is an inverse relationship between the volume of migrants and distance as measured by (a) total number of migrants, (b) immigration rates, and (c) outmigration rates. (2) On the basis of the three foregoing indices, distance travelled is positively correlated with a higher ratio of males. This confirms the findings of several previous studies.

Two additional conclusions concerning the relationship of distance with outmigration from Subregion A can be stated as follows: (1) There is an inverse correlation between distance and the number of outmigrants.

⁶ In considering the factor of distance in relation to population movements in the State of Washington, it is essential to keep in mind the factors of "accessibility" and "travel time" as they relate to topography, arteries of travel, and location of towns and cities. For example, Subregions 1 and 2 are actually contiguous, but in many respects relatively inaccessible since they are separated by the Cascade Mountain Range, which is crossed by only three highways. In addition, of course, there are rail and air transportation.

MIGRATION WITHIN SEATTLE-TACOMA METROPOLITAN SUBREGION

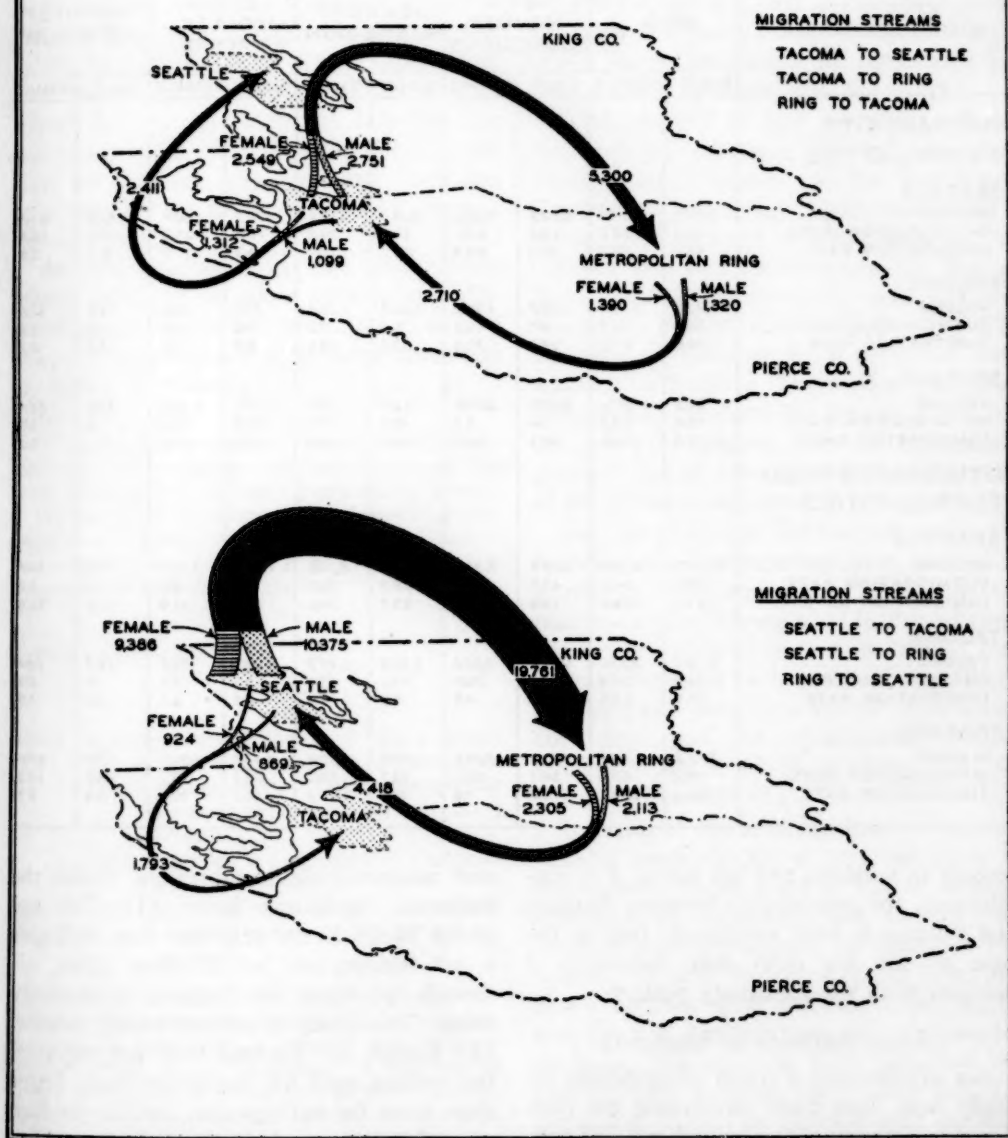


FIGURE 4.

(2) The proportion of males among outmigrants from Subregion A to Subregions 1 and 2 is nearly identical, but the proportion of males to Subregion 3 is very much higher.

Inmigrants to Subregion B manifest patterns similar to those for Subregion A with

cities and nonmetropolitan subregions and between central cities and their rings. Table I summarizes the basic data relating to these patterns.

Age differentials. Age differentials of in- and outmigrants for the three central cities

TABLE I. — MIGRANTS TO AND FROM CENTRAL CITIES, THEIR RINGS AND NONMETROPOLITAN SUBREGIONS CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND DISTANCE FROM CENTRAL CITIES

CITY OR CHARACTERISTIC	RING		TOTAL NONMET. SUBREGIONS		NEAREST SUBREGION		INTER-MEDIATE SUBREGION		FARTHEST SUBREGION	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
INMIGRANTS TO CENTRAL CITIES										
SEATTLE										
VOLUME	2,113	2,305	6,748	7,855	4,454	5,316	1,715	1,927	579	612
OUTMIGRATION RATE	22.8	30.1	16.4	22.1	17.9	24.8	18.3	21.2	10.0	12.2
INMIGRATION RATE	12.2	13.2	38.9	44.8	25.7	30.4	9.9	11.0	3.3	3.5
TACOMA										
VOLUME	1,320	1,390	1,882	1,968	1,402	1,490	355	366	125	112
OUTMIGRATION RATE	14.3	18.2	4.6	5.5	5.6	7.0	3.4	4.0	2.1	2.2
INMIGRATION RATE	25.6	27.2	36.5	38.5	27.2	29.1	6.9	7.2	2.4	2.2
SPOKANE										
VOLUME	935	974	2,623	3,058	1,137	1,368	1,141	1,306	345	384
OUTMIGRATION RATE	46.6	60.3	6.4	8.6	19.5	27.3	10.8	14.4	1.4	1.8
INMIGRATION RATE	16.6	16.8	46.5	52.9	20.1	23.6	20.2	22.6	6.1	6.6
OUTMIGRANTS FROM CENTRAL CITIES										
SEATTLE										
VOLUME	10,375	9,386	8,622	7,889	6,660	6,165	1,219	1,177	743	547
OUTMIGRATION RATE	59.5	54.6	49.5	45.9	38.2	36.9	7.0	6.8	4.3	3.2
INMIGRATION RATE	97.5	106.4	19.9	20.7	25.7	26.9	10.7	11.9	12.3	10.5
TACOMA										
VOLUME	2,751	2,549	2,039	1,838	1,565	1,475	281	263	193	100
OUTMIGRATION RATE	54.0	50.9	40.0	36.8	30.7	29.5	5.5	5.3	3.6	2.0
INMIGRATION RATE	25.9	28.9	4.7	4.8	6.0	6.4	2.5	2.7	3.2	1.9
SPOKANE										
VOLUME	2,113	1,863	3,213	2,815	1,090	1,120	1,403	1,069	720	626
OUTMIGRATION RATE	38.2	33.3	58.1	50.3	19.7	20.0	25.4	19.1	13.0	11.2
INMIGRATION RATE	95.1	105.7	7.4	7.4	18.0	21.4	12.3	10.8	2.8	2.7

respect to numbers and sex ratios. For outmigrants, the relationship between distance and volume is very consistent, but in the case of the sex ratio only Subregion 2 deviates from the customary pattern.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

Sex differentials. Certain observations already have been made concerning the relationship between distance and sex differentials both among in- and outmigrants for the various subregions. To complete the analysis of sex differentials, this section will be devoted to migration between central

and nonmetropolitan subregions reveal the following significant facts: (1) The age group 20-24 is the only one that indicates a net immigration for all three cities, although the figure for Tacoma is relatively small. This group is predominantly female. (2) Except for Tacoma male outmigrants, the median ages for inmigrants were lower than those for outmigrants, but the median ages of both in- and outmigrants were lower than the median ages of the city residents.⁷

⁷ Median ages of persons 5 years old or more in 1940.

	Inmigrants		Outmigrants		Residents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Seattle	30.6	27.4	34.7	30.9	38.0	36.5
Tacoma	32.0	28.5	31.7	29.0	36.7	35.4
Spokane	31.8	26.8	34.4	28.8	36.8	35.1

(3) The age groups over 25 years represent the largest proportions of net outmigrants from the central cities to the nonmetropolitan subregions. The group 35-44 was highest for both Seattle and Spokane. (4) The highest immigrant rate for all three cities is for the age group 20-24. For Seattle the rate is 85.4 per 1,000, for Tacoma, 58.9, and for Spokane, 83.6.⁸ It will be observed from Figure 5 that the immigrant rate for this age group is higher for Seattle and Spokane than for Tacoma. (5) Immigrant rates are relatively low for the age groups 45 years of age and over.

Another measure of in- and outmigration which seems to be more reliable and discriminating than either numerical gains and losses or specific rates is an index developed by Elmer H. Johnson.⁹

⁸ Immigrant rates are based on the 1940 enumerated population and the outmigrant rates, on the 1935 estimated population, 5 years old or more.

⁹ *Educational Attainment and Internal Migration: United States, 1935-1940*, Doctoral Dissertation, unpublished, University of Wisconsin, 1950, Appendix, *Methodological Note A*.

$$\text{Selection Index} = X_{ij} = \frac{\frac{n_{ij}}{N_{ij}} - \frac{n_j}{N_j}}{\frac{n_j}{N_j}}$$

where N_j = total population in a given demographic category living in j subregion

n_j = total migrants in a given demographic category moving into (or out of) j subregion

N_{ij} = population in j subregion in i subcategory of . category

n_{ij} = number of migrants in i subcategory of . category moving into (or out of) j subregion.

An index with a positive sign for a given subcategory (i) represents overselection of migrants, whereas an index with a negative sign indicates underselection. If the proportion of migrants to residents in a given subcategory is more than the proportion of total migrants to total resident population, then the algebraic sign will be positive (+), i.e., there is an "overselection" for this subcategory. By the same token, if the proportion of migrants to residents in a given subcategory is less than the proportion of total migrants to total resi-

By applying this index, the immigrant overselectivity of the age group 20-24 is further emphasized, especially for Seattle. Moreover, the index clearly demonstrates the uniformly low selectivity of immigrants 45 years of age and over for all three cities. Children 5-9 years of age comprise a relatively larger proportion of immigrants for Tacoma and Spokane than for Seattle.

With respect to age selectivity of immigrants and distance, the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) For Seattle and Tacoma the age group 20-24 manifested a tendency to increase with distance, but the opposite was true for Spokane. (2) For all three cities the age group 45 years and over tended to decline with distance. (3) The selection of children 5-13 decreased with distance for Spokane. The deviant tendencies indicated by Spokane for the age group 20-24 and 5-13 suggest that the explanation possibly lies in the subdominant character of the Spokane metropolitan subregion.

Outmigration age differentials from the central cities to nonmetropolitan subregions show: (1) The age group 25-29 has the maximum rate (Figure 6). (2) For all three cities there is a consistent decline in outmigrant rates for each successive age group 30 years and over. (3) For all three cities, the proportion of outmigrants among younger children (5-9) is larger than for older children (10-19).

In terms of the selection index, there is a definite tendency for a high selection of outmigrants 20-24 years of age to increase with distance for Seattle and Tacoma; the opposite tendency obtains for Spokane. The selection of older outmigrants (45 years and over) declines with distance from Seattle and Tacoma, but increases with distance for Spokane. For children 5-19, selection decreased with distance for Seattle and Tacoma, but tended to increase with distance from Spokane.

dents the algebraic sign will be negative (-), i.e., there is an "underselection."

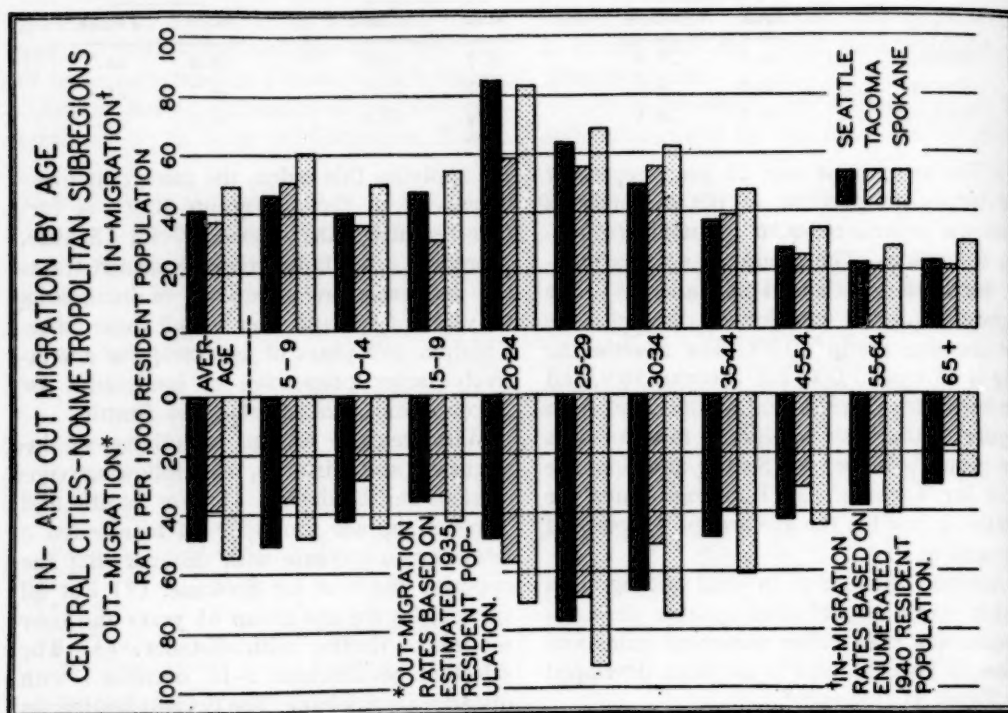


FIGURE 6.

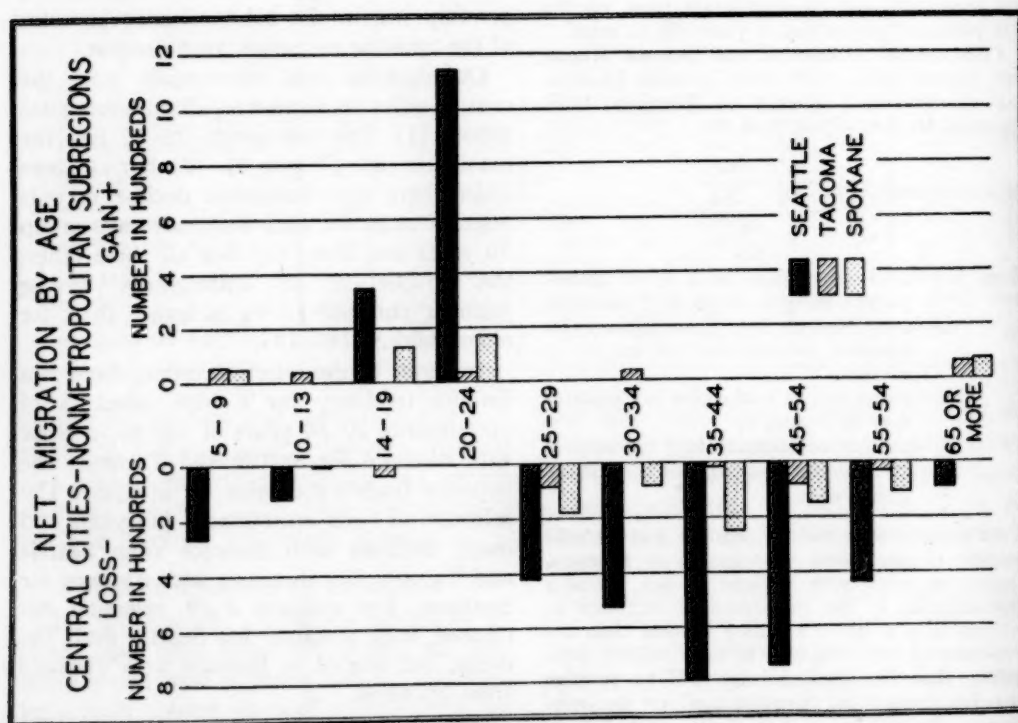


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Educational differentials of in- and out-migrants. Immigrants to the cities of Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane were better educated than the resident populations of these respective cities. The following is a summary of median grade completed for the population 25 years of age and over for the immigrant and resident populations of the three central cities.

	Immigrants		Outmigrant		Resident	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Seattle	11.0	12.1	10.7	12.1	10.0	11.4
Tacoma	10.1	11.5	10.5	11.7	8.8	9.8
Spokane	10.7	11.8	9.7	12.1	9.2	10.7

The highest immigrant rates are to be found for the categories, "1 to 3 years of college" and "4 or more years of college." The lowest immigrant rates for all three cities are found in the category "less than 5 years of schooling" (Figure 7).

The selection index shows for all three cities a remarkably consistent progression from the lowest categories ("less than 5 years" of schooling) to the college levels. Underselection is found for all categories below the high school level. The selection index shows further that with increase in distance migrated there is a definite increase in the proportion of immigrants with one or more years of college completed for Seattle and Tacoma. The same obtains for Spokane, except for Subregion 2. Conversely, there is a decreasing selection with distance for the educational levels below high school for Seattle and Tacoma. The pattern for Spokane is less consistent in this respect.

The outmigrants from Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane show higher median grade completed than their respective resident populations. Furthermore, the median grade completed is generally higher for female outmigrants than for immigrants. The reverse relationship obtains for males. The highest outmigrant rates occur in the categories "1 to 3" and "4 or more" years of college completed. The lowest rates of outmigration generally are in the categories below the seventh grade of elementary school.

The selection index pattern for outmigrants does not show the regularity revealed by the immigrant selection index pattern, although underselection is generally found

below the college level for Seattle and Spokane outmigrants, and below the fourth year of high school level for Tacoma outmigrants. For all three cities the selection indexes are more consistently related to immigration than outmigration.

*Employment status.*¹⁰ The employment status data on immigrants 14 years of age and over to the central cities indicate a progres-

sive decrease with distance in both numbers and in specific rates with respect to (a) total migrants, (b) employed migrants, (c) unemployed migrants, and (d) those not in the labor force. Immigrant specific rates for the employment status categories for the three central cities are indicated in the figures below.

	All			
	Immigrants 14 years and over	Em- ployed	Unem- ployed	Not in Labor Force
Seattle	41.7	43.9	52.6	37.7
Tacoma	36.6	40.0	35.8	33.8
Spokane	48.9	49.4	57.1	47.0

In terms of the selection index, Tacoma ranked highest for the "employed" and Seattle highest for the "unemployed." For all three cities, there was an underselection for those "not in labor force." In this instance, Seattle ranked lowest. Both Seattle and Tacoma show an increased overselectivity of employed and unemployed with distance, whereas the opposite tendency obtains for those not in labor force. It should be pointed out, however, that the overselectivity for the employed in relation to

¹⁰ Rates for employment and occupational status are based on the 1940 enumerated population 14 years of age and over. Only immigrant rates were computed since it was not possible to estimate with any reasonable degree of reliability the 1935 populations for the various categories relating to employment and occupation. Employment and occupational status tends to shift with migration. For a further discussion, as well as empirical data on this point, see John N. Webb and Albert Westfeld, "Industrial Aspects of Labor Mobility," *Monthly Labor Review*, 1939:48(4), pp. 789-802.

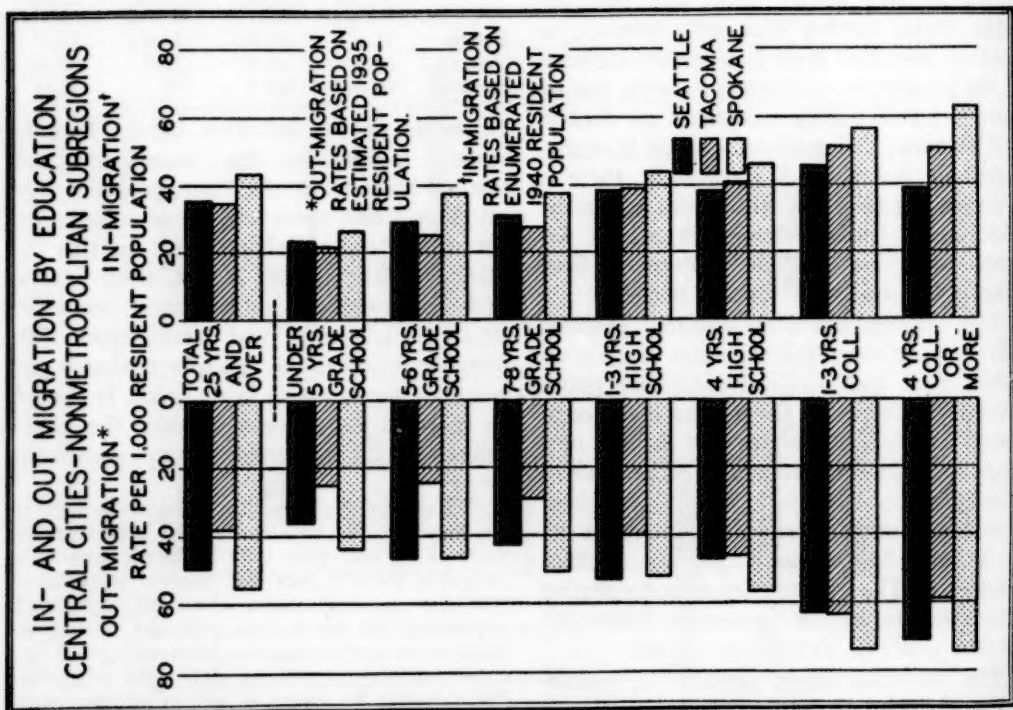


FIGURE 7.

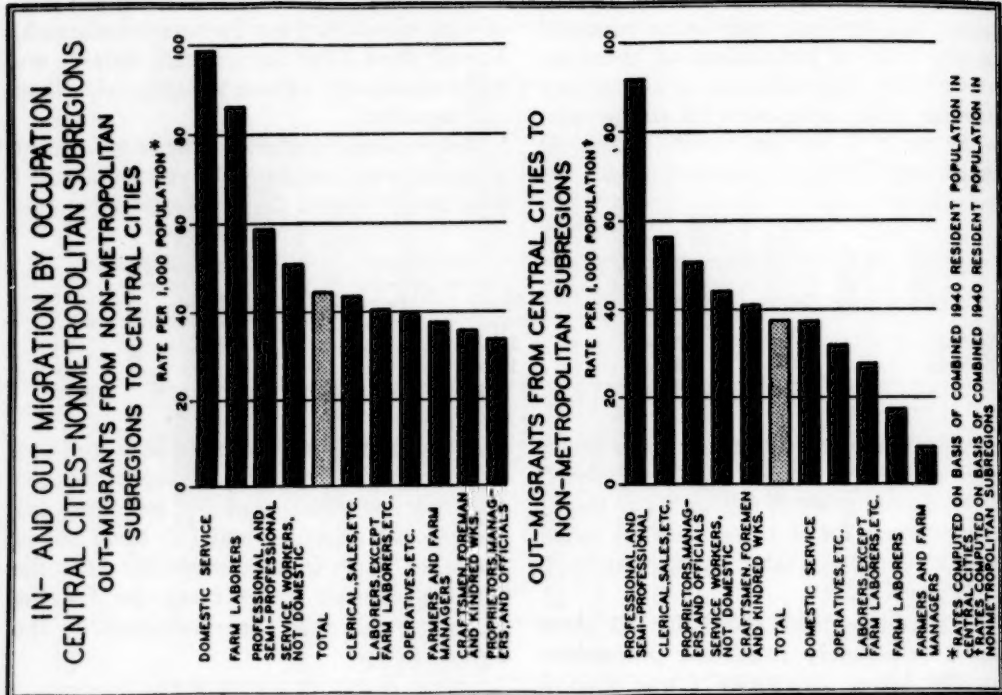


FIGURE 8.

distance was higher for Tacoma than Seattle, but for the unemployed the reverse was true. Spokane does not conform to any clear-cut pattern with respect to employment status and distance, although there is a tendency for the overselectivity of both employed and unemployed to decrease with distance. According to the selection index, there is a definite tendency for those not in the labor force to increase with distance.

Inmigrants to the nonmetropolitan subregions from the central cities indicate the following characteristics and patterns: (1) As measured by both actual numbers and rates, those classified as "employed" decrease with distance from the central cities. (2) The numbers and rates for the unemployed and for those not in labor force do not exemplify as consistent a pattern, although the general tendency for the numbers and rates for these two categories is to decrease with distance. (3) The selection index indicates (a) an overselection of employed inmigrants, (b) an underselection of unemployed except in the case of Spokane, and (c) an underselection of those not in labor force. (4) The selection index reveals that there is an inverse relationship between the employed and unemployed and distance and a positive relationship between those not in the labor force and distance.

Occupational status. Figure 8 portrays inmigrants occupation-specific rates to the central cities. It will be observed that (1) the highest immigrant rate is for domestic service workers (98.5), and is followed in rank order by farm laborers (86.4), and (2) the lowest and second lowest rates, respectively, are proprietors, managers, and officials (34.0) and craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers (35.9).¹¹ In most instances, the rates for individual cities conform to the pattern indicated on Figure 8. In comparison to Tacoma and Spokane, Seattle ranks much lower for professional and semi-professional workers, farmers and farm managers, and farm laborers. Tacoma ranks relatively low for domestic workers. There are, of course, marked sex differences among many of the

occupational groups. On the basis of the selection index, (a) professional and semi-professional workers, (b) domestic service workers, and (c) farm laborers show an overselection for all three cities, whereas (d) proprietors, managers, and officials, and (e) craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers show an underselection. The remaining occupational categories vary from one city to another with respect to selectivity.

The distance factor and occupational selection do not show any uniform pattern for all three cities. There are, however, three categories—(a) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, (b) domestic service workers, and (c) laborers (except farm laborers)—which are inversely correlated with distance from each city.

The following observations are a summary of immigration to the nonmetropolitan subregions from the central cities. (1) The highest rates were recorded for (a) professional and semi-professional workers (92.1), (b) clerical, sales, and kindred workers (56.2), (c) proprietors, managers, and officials (50.4). (2) The lowest rates were reported for (a) farmers and farm managers (8.8), (b) farm laborers (17.4), and (c) laborers (except farm laborers) (27.9).

The selection index exemplifies a remarkably consistent pattern for each of the three cities. All the following categories show an overselection of migrants from Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma to the nonmetropolitan subregions: (a) professional and semi-professional workers, (b) proprietors, managers, and officials, (c) clerical, sales, and kindred workers, and (d) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers. Those which are consistently underselected are (a) farmers and farm managers, (b) operatives and kindred workers, (c) farm laborers, and (d) laborers (except farm laborers).

The pattern of distance and occupational selectivity shows little consistency for the three cities. Selection of domestic service workers is inversely correlated with distance and selection of service workers (other than domestic) is positively correlated with distance for each of the three cities. Selection of (a) farmers and farm managers, (b) proprietors, managers, and officials, and (c) farm laborers is negatively related to distance for Seattle and Tacoma, but positively related to distance for Spokane.

¹¹ The major occupation groups are limited to "employed workers" 14 years old and over, that is, persons who were actually at work or who had a job in the week of March 24 to 30, 1940. The criterion for the various occupational categories represents fundamentally socio-economic status.

FIGURE 8.

FIGURE 7.

CENTRAL CITIES, BASED ON BASIS OF COMBINED 1940 RESIDENT POPULATION IN
RATES COMPUTED ON BASIS OF COMBINED 1940 RESIDENT POPULATION IN
NONMETROPOLITAN SUBREGIONS

MORE

ADDITIONAL GENERALIZATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. In considering the problem of within-state migration in Washington State the demographic and ecological setting is of primary importance.

2. The flow of migration was largely from the characteristically agricultural eastern part of the state to the characteristically manufacturing and economically dominant western part of the state.

3. The pattern of intra-state migration is positively correlated with differences in levels of economic activity among the various subregions. The correlations between net migration among the subregions and differences in 1935 per capita values of total income reported by individuals, bank deposits, public welfare obligations incurred, business and occupation taxes, and retail sales taxes were all positive, ranging from low to moderately high in size.

4. The pattern of intra-state migration is positively correlated with changes in economic activity among the various subregions.

5. The rings for both metropolitan subregions show a considerable migration pull not only from their respective central cities but also from the state as a whole.

6. Distance is an important factor in the volume as well as in the selection of migrants. The volume of migration is generally inversely correlated with distance in terms of (a) actual numbers of in- and outmigrants, and (b) in- and outmigrant rates. This pattern obtains for in- and outmigration between central cities and nonmetropolitan subregions. The irregularities in the patterns found for Spokane in- and outmigrants for age, education, labor force status, and major

occupation, relative to Seattle and Tacoma in- and outmigrant patterns, suggests that migrant selection may be related to differences in ecological dominance.

7. There were significant demographic differences between immigrants to central cities and outmigrants from central cities. Immigrants to central cities showed the following characteristics: (a) excess of females, (b) a large proportion of young adults with a maximal selection for the age group 20-24, (c) relatively high educational status, (d) overselection of both employed and unemployed, but with a greater overselection of the unemployed, (e) overselection of lower status occupations (domestic service workers, service workers, other than domestic, farm laborers) except professional workers which also show an overselection. Outmigrants from the central cities to the non-metropolitan subregions showed the following characteristics: (a) an excess of males, (b) higher median age than for immigrants with maximal selection for the group 25-29, (c) higher educational status for female outmigrants than female immigrants and a lower educational status for male outmigrants than male immigrants, with a net outmigration of migrants with four years of high school and one or more years of college, (d) an overselection of employed migrants and an underselection of unemployed migrants and of migrants not in the labor force, and (e) an overselection of professional and semi-professional workers; proprietors, managers, and officials; clerical, sales, and kindred workers (other than domestic); craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; and service workers, and an underselection for all the remaining categories.

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THE EFFECTS OF SOUTHERN WHITE WORKERS ON RACE RELATIONS IN NORTHERN PLANTS

LEWIS M. KILLIAN

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THIS analysis of the effects of southern white workers on race relations in northern industrial plants is part of a larger study of the adjustment of these migrants to northern, urban ways, as found in Chicago. The relationships of the southern whites to Negroes in the plants, and their effects on the policies of management, must be viewed in the context of the position of the so-called "hillbillies" themselves in the community and in industry.

Prior to the concentration of large numbers of migrants, both white and Negro, in defense centers during World War II, students of race relations evinced only a casual interest in the effects of southern white migration on race relations in other parts of the country. For example, Donald Young, in his *American Minority Peoples*, dismissed the movement of native white migrants as relatively unimportant, saying:

"The migrations of the old stock do not seriously concern us, except as their movement from the country to the city has brought intolerant provincials into contact with minorities whom they cannot understand."¹

Erdmann D. Beynon, in a paper on "hillbilly labor" in Michigan, made only passing reference to the attitudes and behavior of the southern whites towards Negroes.² His brief comment exemplifies the assumption that the migrant reacts to contacts with Negroes in a new situation in the same manner that he did in the South:

Migration to northern industrial cities has brought the southern whites into new situations for which they have no cultural definition; therefore, their behavior has been determined largely by life in rural southern regions. For example, race prejudice towards Negroes persists and leads to conflict when they are compelled to work in the same gangs with Negroes.³

Little else but conflict could be expected if, indeed, southern white migrants defined interracial situations in the North solely in terms of southern mores and acted accordingly. Gunnar Myrdal made the assumption, based on "a common observation," that the transplanted southern white finds little necessity for accommodation to northern patterns but is more likely to change the situation to conform to his "southern prejudice."⁴

The Detroit race riot of 1943, occurring in a city with a large "hillbilly" element in its population, served to focus attention on the possible effect of southern white migrants on race relations in the North. While no systematic, intensive analysis of the role of the "hillbillies" in the Detroit riot has been reported, even by Humphrey and Lee,⁵ the recent migration of large numbers of this group has been singled out repeatedly as one of the most important causes. Witness the dramatic statement of Thomas Sancton, made shortly after the riot:

During the 'thirties and especially after present armament expansion began, white southerners and other outlanders by the hundreds of thousands came to work in the plants. The old, subdued, muted murderous southern race war was transplanted into a high-speed industrial background.⁶

Thus it has been suggested that, because of the refusal of the southern white in the North to accept a "non-southern" definition of interracial situations, he is both an instigator of racial conflict and an agent for the diffusion of "southern" patterns of Negro-white relations. In the present study, the reactions of southern whites in Chicago to contact with Negroes in a specific situation—work—and their influence on the policies of management were analyzed.

¹ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932, p. 41.

² "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," *American Sociological Review*, 3, No. 3 (June 1938), pp. 333-343.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁴ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, p. 79.

⁵ Alfred M. Lee and Norman D. Humphrey, *Race Riot*, New York: Dryden Press, 1943.

⁶ "The Race Riots," *New Republic*, CIX (1943), pp. 9-13.

THE "HILLBILLIES" AS A GROUP

The southern whites studied were members of many small "clusters" of migrants concentrated in an ethnically heterogeneous portion of the Near West Side of Chicago. The majority of them came from farms and small towns in the South Central States, especially western Tennessee. Although these people were known as "hillbillies" in Chicago, few of them came from mountainous areas and they regarded the name as a misnomer.

In this research, 150 southern white migrants were interviewed, and the actual behavior of these and many other southern whites was observed. Non-southerners and Negroes who were part of the social world of the migrants, including plant managers, foremen, policemen, teachers, bartenders, and other workers, were also interviewed.

Of most significance in the present context is the status of the "hillbillies" in the Near West Side. It was found that a vague, but recognizable, stereotype of the southern white migrant was held by many non-southerners, and that they were regarded as a distinct, cohesive ethnic group. While little hostility toward them was discovered, they were generally regarded by non-southern whites as a culturally inferior group. This was especially true in the case of some employers who consciously avoided hiring "hillbillies." In turn, the southern whites themselves exhibited definite group consciousness.

In Chicago, they found themselves only one group in a mosaic of diverse ethnic groups. The fact that they were white, native-born, and Protestant lost some of its prestige value in an area such as the Near West Side, with its large population of Italian-Americans. Negroes, while subject to many forms of discrimination in Chicago, still possessed far more freedom and power than they could enjoy in the rural South. Comparing their position with those of "foreigners" and Negroes in Chicago and in the South, the southern whites felt a relative loss of status which contributed to the development of a *defensive* group consciousness.

The impersonality and anonymity of many types of social relationships in the northern city stood in sharp contrast to the friendly intimacy of the small southern town. As a

result, the "laissez-faire" attitude of the city folk was interpreted by the "hillbillies" as evidence of hostility. The term "hillbilly," even when used in jest, was often perceived as a derogatory group label. To the feeling that they, as southern whites, were a somewhat disadvantaged group was thus added the belief that they were a disliked group.

Their defensive group consciousness did not result in the development of in-group organization of a formal type. But the "hillbillies," preoccupied with "making a living," regarding the South as "home," and, suspicious of non-southerners, constituted a marginal and unstable element in the institutions and associations of the area in which they lived. It may be said that they felt themselves to be in, but not of, Chicago. Visits to the South were frequent, and many families periodically returned to their old homes to live for a year or two. This instability and mobility, more than anything else, caused the "hillbillies" to be regarded by employers as a marginal group of laborers, conveniently available when there was a shortage of other labor, but undesirable as members of a cadre of permanent workers.

EFFECT ON MANAGEMENT POLICIES

The marginal position in industry of the southern whites themselves explains to a large extent the findings concerning their effect on race relations. The range of policies and practices regarding the hiring of Negroes in fourteen plants which employed southern white workers shows that the presence or absence of "hillbilly" workers had only an indirect and minor effect on the policy of management.

In four of these plants, Negroes were employed on jobs with white workers, and sometimes worked side by side with southern whites on machines or assembly lines. Three of these factories were small plants, employing 55, 110 and 225 workers respectively—the very type of plant in which some managers had said, "You can't have Negroes work with whites in such close quarters without trouble!" Not only did the southern whites in these plants work with the Negroes, but they shared the same rest rooms and dressing rooms. It is true that the proportion of "hillbillies" in these plants was not large. In the two with 225 and 55 workers

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respectively, the proportion was estimated at between 10 and 15 per cent, but had been higher during the War. The third plant, with 110 workers, had only one southern white because of a definite "anti-hillbilly" employment policy, but during the war the managers had employed both Negroes and a larger number of southern whites.

The fourth plant, which employed not only Negroes—about 15 per cent of the working force—but also southern whites, Mexicans, and a variety of workers of foreign extraction, was a larger establishment. Although the personnel manager regarded "hillbillies" as undesirable workers because of their mobility, the plant was still regarded as a good place to work by the southerners. It had 1,100 workers, slightly less than 10 per cent of them southern white. The personnel manager of this plant felt that the integration of Negroes into the plant had been accomplished without difficulty because of the firm stand taken by management. He stated:

Having southern white workers hasn't affected our policy at all. When they apply for a job we tell them, "We have Negro workers and they're good workers. If you don't want to work with them, you'd better not take the job." Very few decide that they won't take it. Occasionally we may have complaints about friction with the Negroes, but they may come from northern workers as well as from southern.

Francis J. Haas and G. James Fleming, in an article on "Personnel Practices and War-time Changes," have said that one of the important steps to "fair employment" is "the taking of a firm position by management once it has decided to adopt the new policy."⁷

In these plants, regardless of the presence of southern whites and other white workers who might be equally prejudiced, management had taken such a stand and found that "fair employment" practices could be adopted without difficulty. It may be that the relatively small proportion of southern whites employed in these plants was the result of an aversion by the "hillbillies" to working with Negroes. If so, this does not constitute discrimination in the form of segregation imposed on the Negro minority; instead, it is a form of voluntary self-segre-

gation which hurts no one but the person who imposes it upon himself.

The policies of the ten plants which employed "hillbillies" but had few or no Negroes showed, however, that southern migrants who wished to enjoy such self-segregation could do so without having to spread "southern racist ideas." In all ten plants the policy of excluding Negroes existed before management became aware of the presence of the "hillbillies," and in only one plant was it even suggested that the presence of the southern whites was a deterrent to changes in the policy. Seven of these plants were small, with no more than 200 workers, and with no higher proportion of southern whites than were in some of the plants which did not exclude Negroes. The personnel managers of these plants did not give the fear of "trouble" from the southern whites as a reason for not hiring Negroes; instead, they gave very much the same reasons which Haas and Fleming reported to be "most common" as justification for nonemployment. These authors said:

The National Urban League in 1941-42 found the reasons given for nonemployment of Negroes to be of "infinite variety." Most common were the following: Negroes never applied; whites and blacks can't mix on the same job; haven't time or money to build separate toilets; no trained Negroes are available; they are racially unequipped for skilled work; the union won't have them; don't like Negroes and don't want them around; this is a rush job and we haven't time for experiments.⁸

The reasons given by these Chicago employers were very similar, as the following statements indicate:

This is a small plant and you couldn't mix Negroes with any whites, northern or southern. For one thing, we just don't have room for separate locker and washroom facilities.

Our policy about hiring Negroes is entirely independent of what the southern whites might think or do. We only hire them for a few "dirty" jobs.

The southerners don't enter into our policy towards hiring Negroes. We base our judgment on what we think the older workers would do, and they're mostly Italians. Anyhow, we don't have too many jobs Negroes could do.

We've just stayed away from hiring Negroes.

⁷ *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXLIV (1946), p. 53.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

We've never given what the southern whites might do any thought.

Regardless of the number of "hillbilly" workers being employed, inertia and unwillingness to experiment with a new group of workers, rather than the diffusion of "southern" prejudices, seem to have caused these managers to continue discriminatory policies.

On the other hand, it may be concluded that in the three larger plants with relatively large blocs of "hillbilly" workers—from 20 to 30 per cent of the working force—the presence of the southern whites, but not their actions, had an important indirect effect on the employment policies of the companies. These three plants had opened their doors to "hillbilly labor" during a period when the supply of local white labor was curtailed. The pool of southern white migrant laborers in the West Side constituted for them an alternative to Negro workers as replacements and additions to the working force. Had this alternative not been available, the pressure to hire Negroes would undoubtedly have been much greater. It is highly significant that one of these plants, although engaged in defense production and covered by the wartime Fair Employment Practices Order, hired no Negro workers during the entire period of the War. It was during this same period that the "hillbilly" workers, coming into the plant as replacements for Polish and Italian workers called into the service or attracted by more lucrative jobs, increased to over one quarter of the working force.

The management of this plant, as of the other two with large "hillbilly" blocs, had never hired Negro workers on an equal basis with whites. The standard explanations were given, such as, "We don't have the type of work Negroes can do!" In these three plants, and probably in some of the smaller ones, the southern whites did not cause a policy of discrimination in hiring to be instituted, but they made possible the continuation of an already existing policy.

On the basis of the policies and practices of management in these fourteen plants, it is evident that the presence of southern white workers did not cause an increase in discrimination against Negroes. In plants where management took a firm stand against discrimination, southerners not only failed to

incite other white workers to voice protests against the policy, but at least some "hillbillies" accepted the policy themselves by taking employment. In other plants, already existing policies of nonemployment of Negroes, arrived at independently of the influence of southern whites, made it possible for the migrants to enjoy the dubious fruits of racial segregation in employment as fully as they might have in the South. The primary significance of the presence of the "hillbillies" was that their availability made possible the continuation of previously established discriminatory practices in spite of a shortage of local white labor.

THE REACTIONS OF THE MIGRANTS

Interviews with 140 "hillbillies" who had worked in Chicago plants corroborated this conclusion that the southern whites were able to make a peaceful accommodation to the norms of the new situation. Of these 140, 59 were working, or had worked, in plants that employed Negroes on the same jobs as whites. Of the 81 who had never worked with Negroes under such conditions, only twelve stated that they had deliberately avoided working in plants with a policy of nondiscrimination. The existence of an uneven pattern of race relations in employment in Chicago made it comparatively easy for the southern whites to retain this part of their racial ideology without making any accommodation in their behavior. As one young worker remarked:

I guess I've just been lucky, but I ain't never worked in a place where they hired niggers. I would if the job was a good one, but I just never have.

On the other hand, of the 59 persons who had worked with Negroes without protest, all but four were "hillbillies" who expressed unqualified approval of "the way things are in the South." Some of the twelve who had deliberately avoided working with Negroes showed remarkable inconsistency in their actions. One man, who declared that he would "mess up the machine" of any Negro who was put to work in his plant, lived in the same block with Negroes; he also admitted that the first job he had in Chicago was as a waiter in a restaurant where he had to serve Negroes. The impression of those employers who believed, on the basis

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of their experience, that most of the "hillbillies" would work with Negroes if confronted by a firm policy was borne out by the actions of the southern whites themselves. In fact, some of the most violently anti-Negro southerners were among those who had worked with Negroes, such as a man who later returned to Tennessee because "he couldn't stand to send his children to school with Negroes," and a former member of the Ku Klux Klan.

To most of the "hillbillies," Chicago was not a place to live but merely a place to make a living. The South continued to be their principal reference group and they followed its practice of racial segregation and exclusion when it was conveniently possible. When confronted with situations in which these ways could not be adhered to without personal sacrifice, however, they tended to make the necessary behavioral adjustments even though changes in attitudes did not necessarily occur.

CONCLUSIONS

This study does not support the hypothesis that the southern white migrant, at least the working class migrant, is likely to change the northern interracial situation to conform to his "southern" prejudice. The southern whites studied here, a marginal group in industry themselves, were found to have little effect in deterring employers from hiring Negroes. Their principal effect in northern industry was to furnish an alternate pool of labor for employers who desired to continue an existing policy of exclusion. When confronted with a firm policy of non-discrimination, however, they tended to accept the situation as defined by management. Yet this did not indicate a radical change in the racial attitudes of the southern whites, but rather an accommodation to the exigencies of a specific situation. At the same time, the prevalence of policies of exclusion of Negroes in Chicago plants made such accommodation unnecessary for many of the "hillbillies."

CONTROLLED ACCULTURATION: A SURVIVAL TECHNIQUE OF THE HUTTERITES*

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WHAT are some of the factors related to the survival of ethnic minorities in America? The question is usually posed indirectly because it is studied in cultures in the process of disorganization. The

Hutterites offer an opportunity for a somewhat more direct study of this problem. In-group cohesion and cultural autonomy are preserved in this American minority to a high degree. When the Hutterites were studied some twenty years ago by Lee Emerson Deets, he was not unmindful of areas of conflict and change.¹ But his study differed from similar ones of other ethnic minorities in its finding of a high degree of cohesion and social organization. By contrast to Indian, Italian, or Polish immigrants, who in the 1930's were engaged in a seemingly hopeless struggle for ethnic survival, Deets reported the Hutterites to:

... exhibit a degree of peacefulness, social harmony, and cohesion which by contrast with

*Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in Chicago, September 5, 1951. This paper is a report of one phase of the study, "Cultural and Psychiatric Factors in the Mental Health of the Hutterites," financed by the National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Public Health Service, at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan. The writer is indebted to Rev. Peter Hofer, Elder Preacher of the Schmiedenleut at James Valley Colony, Elie, Manitoba, who lent his complete record of Schmiedenleut rules passed since 1877; also to Thomas Plaut, Harvard University, who collaborated in translating the Schmiedenleut rules from German into English, and Jane Decker of Wayne University who helped in editing them. Harold Sheppard and Norman D. Humphrey read the completed manuscript and made several helpful suggestions for its improvement.

¹ Lee Emerson Deets, "The Origin of Conflict in the Hutterische Communities," in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 25 (May, 1931), pp. 125-135.

our society is very striking. Within their order they have collective security. . . . Crime, either against our society or their own, is very rare. Divorce is unknown. Almost all members of Hutterite society have extraordinary mental health and freedom from mental conflicts and tensions. Family quarreling does not exist. They assert that quarreling of any kind is extremely rare. Suicide has never occurred. Insanity is almost non-existent. . . . Lonesomeness and friendlessness are practically unknown. Even death is quite universally viewed with an equanimity born of assurance that it is but a transition into an eternal future life. Few Hutterites have intellectual problems which are a source of mental conflict. Truths are held as absolutes and a sufficient number have been established as such to provide satisfying answers to individual problems. As compared with our society, the Hutterite community is an island of certainty and security in a river of change.²

For the last two years, this Hutterite reputation for social cohesion and peace of mind has been the object of an investigation of a multi-professional research team under the direction of the writer.³ Unlike Deets in the 1930's, we find that the Hutterites in 1950 show some scars from the battle with their own impulses and conflicting American values.

Overt family conflicts are rare. We know of only one divorce and two separations. The aged, the ill, and the infirm are generally well protected and cared for. We did not find any case of major crime, psychopathy, severe physical assault, or other forms of severely anti-social behavior, but the group is not free from neurosis and psychosis. The picture of the Hutterite community as an unspoiled rural Utopia, which led us to study them, is impaired. Our study shows them to be unusual at least with respect to their effectiveness in maintaining a social system relatively free of individuals who are neglected or who engage in severely anti-social acts, against their own group or the larger American society. The question arises: How is it done?

Before proceeding to the body of our data it may be helpful to sketch a few facets of

the Hutterite folk culture. For at least seventy-six years, covering the lives of four or five successive generations in America, Hutterites have been subject to only moderate population selectivity through desertion of members born into the society or through the conversion of outsiders. The about 8700 Hutterites living in the summer of 1951 in 93 communal hamlets in the western United States and Canada, were largely natural descendants from about fifty Hutterite families who settled in three villages between 1874 and 1877, with the exception of 108 converts and the children of convert marriages. About five per cent of the males now living 15 and over and about .04 per cent of the females are known to have left their communities permanently.

The variations in belief and practice between individuals, families, and colonies are not great. This low degree of variability is nurtured by a common historical process of more than four centuries, which began in Switzerland in 1528 and produced the contemporary Hutterite society in North America. Their forebears were severely persecuted by both Protestant and Catholic rulers. Several times they came close to becoming exterminated. In 1770, a remnant of the sect found refuge in southern Russia and a promise of religious toleration. The Hutterites left Russia a little more than a century later to escape enforced Russification and military service.⁴

Religion is a major cohesive force in this folk culture. The Hutterites consider themselves to be a people chosen by God to live the only true form of Christianity. Like the Mennonites, and other Anabaptist sects which have similarities with the Hutterites, they believe in adult baptism. They are vigilant pacifists and emphasize simplicity in every aspect of living. Had Thorstein Veblen studied them, he would not have found, then or now, much evidence of conspicuous consumption.

The homogeneity is further enhanced by the high rate of in-group marriage which has

² Lee Emerson Deets, *The Hutterites: A Study in Social Cohesion*, Gettysburg, Pa.: Times and News Publishing Company, 1939.

³ For a brief description of the research project, see Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, "The Hutterite Mental Health Study," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, January 1951.

⁴ A. J. F. Ziegleschmid, *Die Alteste Chronik der Hutterischen Bruder*, 1943; *Das Klein Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Bruder*. 1947, Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. Also see an English condensation by John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931*, Goshen, Indiana: Mennonite Historical Society, 1931.

been practiced by these people for over a century. Their voluntary isolation from outside social influences has been all the more effective because their way of life is well integrated around a strong value system. Hutterites indoctrinate their children in a generally well planned educational process. We do not wish to run the risk of overstating the degree of homogeneity. Hutterites are not made out of one mold—the degree of variation is currently increasing. But by comparison with American or western European cultures, they can be characterized as relatively uniform.

While they differ in many important respects from their American neighbors, they are sufficiently Euro-American to make cross-cultural comparisons with predominant patterns in the United States and Canada somewhat more directly relevant than are the studies of American Indians, or African "primitives." Hutterite children attend separate schools staffed by licensed American teachers. They employ up-to-date machinery and trucks in their farm work. Their welders, tractor engineers, carpenters, livestock experts, and the department heads of diversified farms, have established many business contacts in the nearby villages and large towns.

In their social life and value system they are much more resistant to change. In these respects they are, in a limited sense, a mirror of the America of a few generations ago. They are trying to preserve many of its rural reformation-period values, and yet become part of the 20th century. The Hutterites also show us telescopically how much we have changed, and reveal some of the possible consequences of these changes for personality.

The Hutterites have unusual features, some of which are of considerable current scientific and political interest:

- (1) A family with little more than procreative and affectional functions. Economic support, preparation of food, and much of the education after the age of about three are community responsibilities.
- (2) A communal system of sharing property and products of labor.
- (3) A high degree of security, both economic and spiritual.
- (4) A predominance of the primary-group type

of social relationships. Colonies generally stay about 100 in size.

- (5) Fertility is high. It comes closer to the theoretical level of fecundity than in any other observed society. The median completed family in 1951 had ten children.
- (6) There is a narrow range of prestige variations, leaving virtually a "classless society."
- (7) Integration around an absolute value system. The culture is "totalitarian," if this term is used without its contemporary political and anti-humanistic connotations. Hutterites abhor all use of physical force and are fanatically devoted to the humanistic principles of an Anabaptist type of Christianity. They are totalitarian only in these respects: no major deviations from central beliefs and socially approved practices are tolerated; each generation is indoctrinated systematically to grow up to believe and act close to what their traditions believe; considerable subordination of the individual to the needs of the group is expected.

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

The Hutterites have maintained such a social system for many generations in Europe and for over three-quarters of a century in the United States. At present, however, the pressure for change and assimilation is strong, and growing all the time. It comes from two interrelated sources.

First, there is pressure from the outside. The colonies are visited almost daily by such persons as salesmen, government officials, teachers, and doctors. The women, who used to get out of the colonies only when they had to go to a doctor, now often accompany the men. Although most of the colonies enjoy a degree of geographical isolation, the "outside," as the Hutterites call it, has broken down the barriers of isolation which their forefathers hoped to maintain when they left Russia. Few colonies are now more than an hour or two from a good size city such as Winnipeg, Manitoba; Lethbridge, Alberta; Lewistown, Montana; or Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Second, there also is pressure from the "inside." Hutterites, particularly those in the younger age groups, are internalizing some of the values and expectations of their American neighbors. They want more individual initiative and choice and they consider things regarded as luxuries by their elders, to be necessities. There is no area of

living in which concepts of right and wrong are not being influenced by the experiences of life in America.

What is somewhat distinctive about social change in this culture is its gradual nature and the institutionalized techniques that have been developed to deal with pressure for change in an organized fashion. Hutterites tend to accept cultural innovations before the pressure for them becomes so great as to threaten the basic cohesiveness of the social system. We shall illustrate this process of change, (which will be defined later as *controlled acculturation*) primarily by reference to the written rules of the Schmiedenleut Hutterites, one of three cliques of colonies which constitute administrative and social sub-units of the larger ethnic group.

These written rules constitute no systematic guide to living, as does the Schulchan Aruch of Orthodox Jews.⁵ Most problems of behavior among the Hutterites are dealt with on the basis of ancient traditions, which are transmitted to succeeding generations through example and oral communications. When people are sure of one another, no written laws are needed. Families, friendships, cliques, and other primary groups order their affairs on the basis of mores, supported by common consensus. Rules tend to be written down only when this common consensus starts to break down.

A study of cultural changes through an examination of such written rules has several advantages. They are what Durkheim calls, the "visible symbols of social solidarity."⁶ The written rules are objective evidence that a change has occurred. They do not vary with the biases of the researcher, but express a deliberate intent on the part of those who wrote them.

New rules, among the Schmiedenleut Hutterites, are usually proposed at an inter-colony meeting of elected lay preachers, and are intended to combat a specific innovation in personal behavior of some members, which some of the preachers regard as a

violation of the unwritten mores. The new practice must be more than an isolated deviation of the sort which is controlled effectively through the normal processes of community discipline—punishment of the offender by admonition, standing up in church, and temporary ritual excommunication. Only when a deviation becomes widespread in one or more colonies are the leaders likely to appeal for a formal statement of the unwritten community code.

If such a formal rule is adopted by the preachers, it is read to the governing assembly of male members in every colony. Adoption or rejection is by majority vote of all baptized males. Hutterite leaders have their ears to the ground. Their grass-root consciousness is indicated by the fact that in the entire history of the Schmiedenleut colonies, no formal ruling of the preacher-assembly has ever been voted down.

The Schmiedenleut do not usually repeal a rule. When the pressure for change becomes strong enough among the members to threaten harmony and unity, the rule ceases to be enforced. In time a new rule will be passed to give formal recognition that a new practice is now authorized. What started as a violation becomes the law. The Hutterites are not fanatic. In this they differ from most groups which have established colonies involving communal ownership of property or unusual religious principles. They do not expel a member for deviating a little from the narrow path of custom. Disagreements, new ideas, and personal idiosyncracies are not completely repressed, although they are not encouraged. Taking their cue from the dogma that man is born to sin, they do not expect perfection from anyone.

THE PRINCIPLE OF COMMUNAL PROPERTY

The Hutterites have had difficulty in living up to this part of their religious doctrine even before their migration to America. Around 1686 most Hutterite communities, which were then established in Hungary and Transylvania, abandoned the community of goods because of what Horsch believes to have been a widespread decline in their spiritual value cohesion.⁷ All but those most deeply attached

⁵ Salmon Ganzfried, *Code of Jewish Law (Kitzur Schulchan-Aruch)*, translated from Hebrew by Hyman E. Goldin, New York: The Star Hebrew Book Company, 54-58 Canal Street, 1928.

⁶ See Georges Gurvitch, *Sociology of Law*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1942, pp. 106-122, for a detailed treatment of Durkheim's contributions to the sociology of law.

⁷ John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931*, Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, 1931, pp. 75-78.

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to the Hutterite religion made a permanent break with the sect during that period of crisis and the many decades of persecution by Jesuit priests which were to follow. In 1770, when the remnants of the sect found refuge in south Russia, they were so few in number that all could "live under one roof and eat at one table."⁸ In 1819, the principle of communal ownership was completely abandoned by even this small colony of faithful. Not until 1859-60, less than two decades before the migration of Hutterites to the United States, did a remnant of a few dozen families reestablish an association of families with joint ownership of property.⁹

Evasion of the principle of communal property can be observed today in every colony. There are few young men of this generation who have not "earned a little pocket money on the side" by trapping animals for bounty or fur, by working for neighbors, and, in rarer cases, by selling for their private gain produce which belongs to the community. Leaders tend to tolerate these practices if they are not carried on too openly and to excess. They believe that these violations are a temporary phase of adolescent protest. By the time the boys become baptized, marry, and assume some administrative responsibility in the community, they "usually grow out of this foolishness." Most of them actually do, but some ambivalence towards the principle of communal ownership of everything is present even in most adult Hutterites.

Much more vigilance is shown in combating the earning of private income by adults. There is a rule requiring that money received for work done outside the colony has to be given to the elected manager. Efforts at selling colony articles to obtain money were widespread enough to require blocking by rules, such as the one in 1933 which declared that: "Taking wool to make socks or blankets and then selling these for profit does not belong to our life and shall not be permitted." Five years later a more detailed regulation also prohibited the selling of feathers, wool, soap, socks, gloves, and specific foodstuffs. Down feathers were apparently the most easy to sell. Regulations for-

bidding their private sale appear again in 1941.

American business men at times give presents in cash or kind to individual Hutterites who have done favors for them or whose goodwill they are anxious to secure. Such gifts create a problem in a community where there is supposed to be an equitable sharing of all material goods. There is a 1926 regulation which provides that presents of clothing received by members be subtracted at the time of distribution of clothing by the colony. "Other presents must be looked over by the preacher and manager, who decide what disposition is to be made of them." Money received as a present was to be turned over to the manager according to a 1891 decree, although twenty-five cents of it could be retained for spending money.

In recent years, colonies are trying to combat private earning through distributing monthly cash allowances to each member, with which they can purchase food, candy, or other articles not considered taboo. In 1941 the Schmiedenleut colonies adopted a uniform standard for this practice; "All people over 15 years of age shall receive two dollars and forty cents spending money a year. It shall be distributed in monthly portions to the father in each family. It shall be spent only for edibles. Children under fifteen years and over six months shall get five cents per month. For unbaptized children, the allowance shall be given to the parents." In some colonies the allowance has been recently raised. The leaders also purchase for general distribution, quantities of fresh fruit, candy, toys, and canned fruit. Formerly these items had to be purchased by each person with his allowance.

Adjustments to the impact of individualistic values are being made, but these controlled concessions to the demand for change also serve to underline that there is still considerable strength in the belief of contemporary Hutterites in the community of goods.

THE PRINCIPLE OF AUSTERE SIMPLICITY

The pressure for assimilation is equally strong on the Hutterite principle of austerity in consumption. The sect lives in a country in which the encouragement of fashion and conspicuous consumption is a major concern

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁹ Zieglschmid, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-435.

of a billion-dollar advertising industry. As early as 1883 it was necessary to combat fashion in the form of a rule to forbid "ivory rings or red ribbons on the harnesses of horses." An 1886 rule stated that "four-wheeled baby carriages are not permitted." In 1926 another rule reaffirmed that "baby cribs shall remain as always, namely simple wagons with a pole," to ensure that the Hutterites "keep to the old way."

The Schmiedenleut Hutterites have several regulations designed to keep personal consumption on the basis of need and equality within each level of need. For instance, a family of six or more may have seven chairs; one with four or five may have four; one with three or less members may have three chairs.

The zeal for austerity in consumption has limits. It appears that the Hutterites are careful not to be excessively severe in restraining strong drives. They reduce the temptation to violate rules by not forbidding all enjoyment of food, drink, sex, and adornment. Hutterites enjoy eating. They are encouraged to get married. "Simple" decorations and colors in clothing are authorized. Wine, beer, and occasional hard liquor are distributed in moderate quantities. The rules are only directed at what the culture considers excesses. This principle of moderation is well illustrated by a 1925 rule to put an end to what are considered excesses at weddings, when the community provides quantities of alcoholic beverages for the celebration of festivities:

When there is a wedding, nobody shall take the liberty of carrying home drinks or taking away from the wedding that which he could not drink. This because human natures are different. And everyone shall drink only so much that his conscience remains clear, because all excess and misuse are sinful. Only if somebody, because of his need to work, cannot be present when drinks are poured, can he come later to the person charged with pouring and ask for his share. But he must not take it home. If somebody is sick however, and cannot attend the wedding, the manager shall give him his share in all fairness.

The largest number of austerity rules are concerned with clothing. Hutterite clothing is the visible symbol of their autonomy. The forces of assimilation are most easily brought

to bear against this form of symbolic segregation. It is external to the person, and its change seems to be just a trivial matter. Changes in dress often symbolize the beginning of a major break with the past.¹⁰

One Hutterite regulation exhorts members that they should "... start no new styles. ..." But the style urge is strong and one can expect many rules on this subject to be issued to keep up with the genius of younger Hutterites for expressing themselves. Hutterites needed to be reminded in 1909 that they must not make "rolled caps" for children, nor add colored strings or bands. Black hats were the only kind permitted by a 1936 rule which added that "recently purchased white or grey hats should be worn out this year," indicating that they were contrary to the unwritten tradition. Two years later, another regulation was necessary to include pith helmets in this prohibition, since some Hutterite youngsters had begun to purchase them because "there is nothing in the regulations against them."

Schmiedenleut tradition required the use of hooks and eyes to fasten clothes until 1926, when it was decided that buttons on winter clothes "could be retained." The *ex post facto* regulation acknowledging this change in fashion also sets clear limits: "Only black buttons could be used, except on white garments, where there should be white buttons." But the tendency to use buttons in colors contrasting to the cloth persisted, and twelve years later the 1926 regulation had to be virtually repeated. Em-

¹⁰ Pauline V. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. The author found this to be the tendency among the Molokans, a Russian religious sect with strong community ties, which disintegrated rapidly in urban Los Angeles, where the pressures for assimilation proved to be too strong for the internal forces of cohesion. Her account of the significance of a Molokan girl's struggle with fashion would not have to be changed to apply in full to the Hutterites.

"Once I mustered up courage to buy a hat for one dollar and ninety-eight cents. When my mother heard about the hat, she cried and carried on something terrible. 'A hat, what next!' To avoid trouble, I left my hat at a girl friend's house and called for it every morning, ditching my shawl" (p. 163).

Hutterites experience similar conflicts, but very few girls have "ditched their shawls."

phasizing that buttons should be of the same color as the garment, the preachers added: "Let everyone be warned of the dangers of misfortune and eternal damnation."

A strict rule in 1933 demanded that "sweaters . . . (be) summarily gotten rid of, since they do not belong to our world and only lead to improper dealings. . . . He who does not obey shall have his taken away and burned, and the violator shall be punished." The unusual vehemence with which it is worded may pertain to the fact that sweaters are clinging garments which reveal the human form quite faithfully. Other rules require that dresses be kept within five or six inches, and trousers within three or four inches of the ground. This vehemence of opposition is not applied to all efforts to substitute factory for home-made products. As early as 1911, a regulation authorized that, "A suit (tailored in colony style) shall be bought for all brothers . . . worth about five to six dollars." And in 1917, fur linings for winter clothes were authorized for purchase. After 1921, some "high shoes" (for Sunday) could be purchased in place of home-made ones. In 1938, mattresses "costing no more than fifteen dollars" could be distributed to families which would then have to forego their quota of feathers, which traditionally had been the material used in home-made mattresses. By 1944, the purchase of all types of shoes was authorized, but only in styles approved by the preacher, the manager, and the shoemaker.

Concessions are being made. When the pressure for change becomes too great, we find here as previously a willingness to change a little. In the long view of history, these changes may accumulate into a lot.

PRINCIPLES OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Farmers generally tend toward greater self-sufficiency than city folks. In frontier days they had no choice but to be self-sufficient. Specialized services were not available to them. Their cash income also was usually too low to pay for haircuts in a barbershop, meals in a restaurant, or canned goods from a store. For Hutterites, the preference for self-sufficiency has always had more than an economic motivation. It functions to keep down the frequency of business

contacts between members of the colony and outsiders. It also reflects the religious emphasis on austere simplicity.

The effective system of communication throughout America, with its modern roads, its radio, and its press, as well as the economic pressure for the use of technological improvements, made it impossible for the Hutterites to maintain the degree of isolation that had been possible when they lived among Russian peasants. The group is now adjusting itself to these technological and social forces. Very much unlike the anti-machine-age Amish people, Hutterites have no religious taboos against new inventions as such. Their basic attitude is to be tolerant of the use of technology in production, but to be more insistent upon home-made products in consumer goods.

For a long time, Hutterites resisted the use of motor vehicles, which could take members to the "temptations" of towns "too easily." The first formal decision concerning trucks was made in 1928. It called for their complete disposal ". . . in view of the misuse and annoyance associated with them." But the pressures for their use proved to be too great, and two years later, permission was given for each colony to rent up to 25 times a year. The following year the rental limit was extended to 30 times a year, although preachers and unbaptized males under 25 years of age were prohibited from driving. In 1933, the rule was changed to permit the use of trucks without any numerical limit, but "they could not be owned, nor rented for more than half a year and they were not to be kept on colony property." In 1940 came a most significant concession: "Preachers may drive trucks like other brothers."

Passenger cars are still forbidden. They are defined as luxuries. In 1941, two Schmied-enleut colonies which had purchased station wagons, were ordered to dispose of these too "up-to-date" vehicles. The importance attached to this decision is underlined by the fact that for the first time the preachers decided to accompany this regulation with a definition of what is a station-wagon, copied from the American College Dictionary!

The gradual acceptance of factory-made devices is important largely because of the

recent acceleration of this trend. Imperceptibly to many Hutterites, their concept of what constitutes luxury is changing. Both barn and kitchen are now equipped with modern refrigeration systems. There is even talk of a dishwashing machine to lighten the burden of the women-folk, to whom a hair ribbon or silk stockings still are tabooed objects. Here is a partial list of "luxury" items found in the home of a prominent leader:

- A painted photograph of a son in army uniform.
- A set of enamelled grocery cannisters, all empty since no cooking is done at home.
- A small night light.
- A venetian blind in one of the two living-room windows.
- A rayon souvenir pillow.
- A cigarette stub in an ashtray. (Hutterites consider smoking to be sinful.)
- A Remington shaving machine.
- A silk handkerchief from the New York World Fair.
- Artificial flowers in a decorative flower pot.
- Two pin-buttons pinned on a wall decoration over the bed of the colony's most attractive adolescent girl. The respective texts of these buttons were: "I am thin, but oh my!" and "Oh baby, you do it so nice!" These were gifts of one of her Hutterite beaux.

The occasional sales-representative or idle traveller who visits the colonies will notice little of this. The uniformity of polka-dotted black and white kerchiefs worn by all women, the majestic beards of the married men, and the pastoral scene of ducks and geese in the community courtyard, may hide the fact that behind this apparently unchanging facade, old and new values are waging a silent struggle within the heart of every Hutterite.

In all this, we must not overlook that relative self-sufficiency remains a potent weapon in the Hutterite battle for cultural cohesion. Among the farm enterprises in most colonies are dairying, beef cattle, sheep, swine, poultry, ducks, and occasionally turkeys for the "outside" Thanksgiving market. Nearly all colonies grow their feed, except for protein concentrates. They make their own bread from grain. Butter, honey, pota-

toes, vegetables, fruits, meat and nearly all the things which come to the dinner-table are home products. Most clothes, furniture and bedding are still home-made.

THE PROCESS OF CONTROLLED ACCULTURATION

The Schmiedlenleut regulations illustrate the persistent efforts of the Hutterite people to control rates of social change by defining the areas in which it is to be approved. When the pressure for change becomes too strong and the rules are violated widely enough to threaten respect for law and order, the Hutterite leaders push for formal change of the written law before it makes too many lawbreakers. By bending with the wind, Hutterites have kept themselves from breaking. This policy was explained by one of their outstanding leaders as follows:

I belong to the conservative faction that believes in making changes as slowly as possible. We Hutterites certainly have changed radically, even during the last decade. Sometimes I get the feeling we will not survive because we go too much with the world. But my father used to think the same thing when I was young, and we are still going strong. We must progress slowly. We should be conservative, although the Apostle Paul said, 'Make use of the things of this world, but do not abuse them.' You can make changes as long as you do not sacrifice principle. There is conservatism that is right and one that is foolish. We look for the happy medium.

This process of change might be designated as *controlled acculturation*. It is the process by which one culture accepts a practice from another culture, but integrates the new practice into its own existing value system. It does not surrender its autonomy or separate identity, although the change may involve a modification of the degree of autonomy.

Controlled acculturation can only be practiced by a well organized social structure. There must be recognized sources of authority. The presence of this practice is evidence that the culture has considerable vitality for growth and continuity, despite the pressures for change to which it is making an adjustment. In the controlled acculturation of Hutterites, there is rarely any fundamental negation of the group's own value system. When they adopt American ways

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they do not become personally identified with the mainstream of the American culture. They remain Hutterites, loyal to their autonomous way of life.

The process of controlled acculturation cannot be continued indefinitely without ultimately resulting in more assimilation. The concessions made by the Hutterites to their American environment are not only affecting their practices, but their value system as well. In time, the changes may accumulate to bring about a major shift in values, which could destroy the group's existence as a separate ethnic entity.¹¹

The controlled acculturation of Hutterites has been criticized by some of their neighbors. There have been unsuccessful efforts to penalize them for their slow rate of Americanization through special discriminatory legislation in Manitoba, Montana, and South Dakota. In Alberta, pressure groups of self-styled patriots were successful in pushing the Social Credit Party leadership to enact a land law which is offensive to many Canadians who treasure their country's strong traditions of civil and religious liberty. The law¹² singles out Hutterites to prohibit their lease or purchase of land within forty miles of any existing colony. It was hoped that the forty mile provision would help to reduce the group cohesiveness by keeping colonies more isolated from each

other. The opposite is taking place. Hutterites are in the process of establishing a formal church structure including all of their colonies,¹³ which would make it more difficult for any single community to make major innovations of social practice. Many leaders see in this discriminatory law an act of God to warn "His People." It has strengthened the resolve of many younger Hutterites to be wary of "outsiders who hate us." It functions to increase their in-group orientation.

CONTROLLED ACCULTURATION AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

The strong communal organization which enables the Hutterites to make a planned retreat in the direction of assimilation in the form of controlled acculturation, probably contributes to the good adjustment of individuals. Unlike the natives in the Pacific Islands or the Poles of America's ghettos, Hutterite individuals are not being forced, almost overnight, to make a transition from the security support of their *Gemeinschaft* with primitive peasant values, to an unfamiliar *Gesellschaft* society with 20th century American values. They make the change slowly enough to enjoy community support in the process.

Many members of American minority groups have become marginal and disorganized when caught in a culture conflict. Immigrants lose confidence in their ancestral culture. Their children tend to reject the old-fashioned practices in which their parents no longer believe, but to which they adhere for lack of alternative. They become what Stonequist calls *marginal men*—people without secure roots or values.¹⁴ The high rates of crime, delinquency, prostitution, venereal disease, and other indices of social disorganization commonly found in this marginal second generation of immigrant groups, can be viewed as a social price of their

¹¹ This concept of acculturation is similar to that defined by the Social Science Research Council Sub-Committee on Acculturation. See: Melville J. Herskovitz, *Acculturation*, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938, pp. 10-15; Ralph Linton, editor, *Acculturation in Seven Indian Tribes*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940, pp. 463-464. The Subcommittee also makes a distinction between acculturation and assimilation. They point out that no clear line can be drawn between the two processes. In this discussion, we reserve the concept of assimilation to denote the end-product of a process of acculturation, in which an individual has changed so much as to become dissociated from the value system of his group, or in which the entire group disappears as an autonomously functioning social system. Acculturation, on the other hand, is reserved for those changes in practice or beliefs which can be incorporated in the value structure of the society, without destruction of its functional autonomy.

¹² "An Act Respecting Lands in the Province Held as Communal Property," Revised in 1947, Chapter 16, Assented to March 31, 1947, Government of Alberta. See also, Joseph W. Eaton, "Canada's Scapegoats," *The Nation*, 169, No. 11 (1949), pp. 253-254.

¹³ Bill B, The Senate of Canada, *An Act to Incorporate the Hutterian Church*, passed by the Senate, 14th February 1951, Fourth Session, Twenty-First Parliament, 15 George VI, 1951, 5 pp. Also: *Constitution of Hutterian Brethren Church and Rules as to Community Property*, published by E. A. Fletcher, Barrister-Solicitor, 412 Paris Building, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 14 pp.

¹⁴ E. V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.

rapid assimilation, without much in-group support.

No such pronounced tendency of individual demoralization was observed among the Hutterites. Hutterites are generally self-confident about their group membership. There are few signs of self-hatred and the sense of deep personal inferiority commonly found among assimilationist Jews, who feel ambivalent about their relationship to the Jewish group.¹⁵

¹⁵ Kurt Lewin, "Psycho-Sociological Problems of a Minority Group," *Resolving Social Conflicts*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948, pp. 145-158.

The factors responsible for this phenomenon are no doubt numerous and are beyond the scope of this paper, but controlled acculturation is one of them. This controlled process of adjustment to social change gives group support to the Hutterite individual who must adjust his way of life within the conflict of his own 16th century Anabaptist peasant traditions and the twentieth century American values of his environment. Hutterites are making the adjustment, both as a total culture and as individuals, while maintaining a considerable measure of functional adequacy and self-respect.

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NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



SUICIDE AND CRIME IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF AN URBAN SETTING: FORT WORTH, 1930-1950*

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Earlier studies of the ecology of suicide and crime in urban settings have been next to unanimous in the conclusion that the rates of both these sociopathic conditions vary together in intracity areas. Ruth Shonle Cavan in Chicago, Calvin F. Schmid in Seattle and Minneapolis, Stuart A. Queen and others in St. Louis have found suicide and crime rates high or low together with the presence or the absence of other sociopathic conditions from one census tract or natural area to another in these cities.¹

The writer's intercity studies, however, contain conclusions which do not coincide with these results.² In Southern cities, with some exceptions, crime rates are higher and suicide rates lower than in non-Southern cities paired with the former. Since the latter tend to be relatively high in socio-economic status and the former relatively low, it turns out that higher suicide rates appear in cities with higher, not

the lower status. These facts, in the light of the Cavan-Schmid-Queen findings, are contrary to expectations.

The contrast of these facts with earlier findings suggested that differences in social structure and specific patterns of culture from North to South might affect the results. Therefore, since the outstanding studies of the ecology of sociopathy in urban areas have been made outside the South, the decision emerged to undertake the study of the incidence of suicide and crime occurring by census tracts during twenty years (1930-1949) in Fort Worth.

In the pursuit of this study, these questions have at all times been uppermost: (1) What are the relations of the rates of these conditions to one another and to the variations in the city's social structure? (2) Do these variations in rates coincide or agree with variations that have been reported for non-Southern cities? and (3) What conditions influence these results?

The first obligation these questions incur is to find a way of "measuring" variations in the context of the city's social structure. Immediately, then, arises the problem of procedure.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PROCEDURE

Social structure includes as one of its aspects the idea of *class* or *status*, which has recently received great emphasis in urban studies. It also includes the institutions, occupational functions, secular and folk elements, patterns of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, as well as the personal and impersonal, and the primary and secondary relationships which organize people's lives and activities.³ The description of a social structure may be enhanced by giving each of these elements numerical treatment. Social classes or worlds may be detected in a measurable manner, and the behavior of their constituents may be understood in part likewise.

* See Ferdinand Tonnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, the translation by Charles P. Loomis entitled *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1940). The fundamental relationships of the concepts of Tonnies to those of E. Durkheim in his *De la Division du Travail Social* (see George Simpson's translation) and to those of Charles Horton Cooley should be more generally recognized.

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¹ Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Suicide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928); Calvin F. Schmid, *Suicides in Seattle, 1914-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1928); Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities* contains a map which is included in Noel Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society* (New York: Crowell, 1941, p. 218), showing the distribution of suicides in Minneapolis: 1928-1932; Stuart A. Queen and Lewis F. Thomas, *The City* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), p. 440.

² Austin L. Porterfield and Robert H. Talbert, *Crime, Suicide, and Social Well-Being in Your State and City* (Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1948); and Porterfield, "Indices of Suicide and Homicide by States and Selected Cities: Some Southern-Non-Southern Contrasts with Implications for Research," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (1949), 482-498.

Recent methods of measuring the class constituency of cities have been most interesting. The work of Warner and Lunt, Hollingshead, and others has been very productive.⁴ The occupational scale devised by Cecil Claire North and Paul K. Hatt has proved itself applicable in this study.⁵ These methods, however, can be supplemented by the idea of a continuum which is best adapted to present purposes. If suicide and crime rates are on a continuum, they can best be compared with other phenomena which are likewise measured. Hence the writer has developed a technique for comparing the socio-economic status of census tracts within cities along the lines laid down in Porterfield and Talbert's *Crime, Suicide, and Social Well-Being* for the comparison of the status of states and cities.⁶

In addition to this index of socio-economic status other continua have been provided for comparison. Among these are indices of congregations, native whites, executives' residences,

⁴ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941) cf. their related studies in the *Yankee City Series*; A. B. Hollingshead, "Selected Characteristics of Classes in a Middle Western Community," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (1947), 385-395; cf. his *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1949).

⁵ See their article on "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in *Opinion News* for September 1, 1947, as contained in Logan Wilson and W. L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), pp. 464-473.

⁶ More especially, pp. 3-4 and 66.

and depressed folk groups. These constitute continua along which it is hoped that indices of suicide and crime may be compared.

THE INDEX AS A BASIC TECHNIQUE

Space limitations preclude a detailed analysis of techniques. However, measures of socio-economic status (as given) were established on four sets of characteristics in each census tract: relief, health, housing, and residential desirability.⁷ These measures were in the form of index scores for each of forty census tracts based on the means of the four sub-scores (relief, health, etc.). The degree of deviation of individual census tracts from the rate of all forty areas combined is expressed as an index number ranging above or below 100 in the familiar manner. This index may stand either as a measure of socioeconomic status or of depressed classes.

The index of depressed classes obtained as the reverse of the index of socio-economic status, however, is not the same as the index of depressed folk groups given in Table 1. The concept of depressed folk groups is included

⁷ The first category is relief—rates of relief based on the number of cases cleared through the *Social Service Exchange* from 1936 through 1946; the second is indices of health based on deaths from pneumonia, tuberculosis, and prematurity (1945-1947); the third is indices of housing based on rents, overcrowding, and houses in need of major repair (1940); and the fourth is indices of residential desirability based on the heterogeneity of or transition in land use as indicated by the zoning map (1947).

TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF CENSUS TRACTS IN FORT WORTH WITH HIGH AND LOW INDICES OF SUICIDE AND CRIME FOR SELECTED PERIODS*

Census tract	Suicide index †: 3 estimates	Crime index ‡: 4 estimates	Social status index	Congregations index	Native white index	Depressed folk index	Index of executives' residences
I. Tracts with high indices for suicide, low for crime							
22	237	38	185	51	112	65	426
46	227	40	139	108	119	88	49
30	142	87	94	47	114	80	56
28	139	63	119	104	74	108	214
27	135	16	154	48	115	67	189
42	129	14	200	47	119	60	684
15	119	45	143	62	116	73	124
14	112	35	141	40	116	66	120
35	112	40	120	111	118	93	32
38	110	62	114	40	117	71	36
4	108	69	108	67	116	82	55
12	105	63	88	141	118	113	76
48	103	30	125	52	115	73	47
All	136	46	133	71	113	79	162

TABLE

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TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF CENSUS TRACTS IN FORT WORTH WITH HIGH AND LOW INDICES OF SUICIDE AND CRIME FOR SELECTED PERIODS*—Continued

Census tract	Suicide index †: 3 estimates	Crime index ‡: 4 estimates	Social status index	Congregations index	Native white index	Depressed folk index	Index of executives' residences
II. Tracts with low indices for suicide, high for crime							
25	19	180	123	236	38	193	11
33	34	155	88	223	30	223	56
17	63	298	46	123	16	322	14
5	64	111	88	156	119	118	36
3	64	188	74	156	60	153	10
16	85	144	72	104	118	108	20
34	85	137	81	161	30	303	23
32	88	318	56	85	74	132	24
All	63	192	79	156	61	194	24
III. Tracts with high indices for suicide, high for crime							
18**	204	388	33	224	105	209	56
31	136	188	66	120	118	119	34
2	126	142	94	120	118	113	35
10	122	287	50	495	94	267	46
19	120	164	76	63	95	100	44
All	145	234	64	204	106	161	43
IV. Tracts with low indices for suicide, low for crime							
26	17	42	169	82	112	77	86
43	47	24	154	47	119	65	346
40	50	91	93	44	103	83	48
1	54	42	133	63	110	76	102
37	55	50	125	94	118	86	50
39	62	42	100	114	118	100	55
44	85	23	130	73	110	80	195
45	93	60	100	9	113	66	37
47	94	46	112	88	118	87	49
All	62	47	124	68	113	80	108
V. Tracts with medium indices for suicide, medium for crime							
9	122	97	54	179	107	151	26
20	114	108	64	47	116	97	35
29	105	123	84	41	103	86	56
8	89	76	116	72	116	81	66
41	89	71	119	60	112	78	58
All	104	95	87	80	111	99	48

* The 40 tracts listed in this table exclude tracts 11, 13, 7, 21, 23, 24, and 36 which are shaded on the map because the estimates for these tracts are limited only to the last five years of the twenty year period. Tract 11 is the top tract in the central area of Figure 1, Group II. Tracts 7, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 36 are all in Figure 1, Group IV. Though all suicide estimates are for the years 1930-1949, the crime estimates are for selected periods.

† The indices for suicide are based on three estimates: (1) rates per 1,000 total population (1940) for 1930-1949, (2) rates per 1,000 population over 24 years old (1940); and rates per 1,000 dwellings (1940).

‡ The indices of crime are based on four estimates: (1) rates of adult male arrests (October 1937), (2) rates of homicide (1946-1950), (3) rates of juvenile delinquency for 1950, and (4) juvenile commitments to the city jail (1945).

** Census Tract 18 contains the retail district of the city.

because it not only indicates the presence of depressed classes as a constituent element within the concept, but also provides some indication of the extent to which folk elements,

which may be more or less fragmentized, make up the community. Some areas in cities are more "secular" than others. Some are inhabited by distinct folk groups as truly as any rural

areas.⁸ These people belong to various social statuses, but seem to be more numerous on depressed levels.

The index of depressed and somewhat disorganized folk groups then, rests on three conditions: (1) the presence (or absence) of depressed classes (the socio-economic score reversed), (2) the number of churches per 1,000 population in each census tract as indicative of the number of social divisions within it⁹ and (3) color. Even the rural folk in the city could be indicated by the churches to which they belong; but this has not yet been done.¹⁰

These data are given in Table 1 with indices of suicide and crime by census tracts for the years designated in the table. The basis for obtaining the latter indices is described in the tables in which they appear.

RESULTS

The results of these comparisons by census tracts in Fort Worth are in keeping with the

⁸ For example, see Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); and Harlan W. Gilmore, "The Old New Orleans and the New: A Case for Ecology," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (1944), 385-394.

⁹ See Lawrence Guy Brown's discussion of religious factors in social disorganization in *Social Pathology* (New York: Crofts, 1942), chap. 27.

¹⁰ Adolph Tomars, "Rural Survivals in Urban Life," included in Wilson and Kolb, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-378, makes it very clear that the city is not wholly urban.

earlier findings of Porterfield and Talbert for states and cities.¹¹ In many respects, however, they do not conform to the familiar ecological theories.

The 40 census tracts are divided into five groups, as in Table 1 and Figure 1.¹² Thirteen census tracts have high suicide and low crime scores. Eight have low suicide and high crime scores. Five have high scores for both. Nine have low scores for both. In five areas the scores for both are medium.

The graphic summary of the characteristics of these areas in Figure 1 shows that areas with high suicide and low crime rates are high in social status and high in the residence of native whites and executives, but low in the index of churches.¹³ A glance at the accompanying map discloses that these tracts do not fit into the ecological or status pattern usually expected in the distribution of suicides.

¹¹ More specifically, see Porterfield, "Suicide and Crime in Folk and in Secular Society," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (1952), 331-338.

¹² Tracts 7, 11, 13, 21, 23, 24, and 36, though shaded on the map in Figure 1, are not included in the series compared in Table 1. On these tracts only data for the last five years were available.

¹³ The index for native whites is based on the percentages of native whites in each census tract; the index for congregations on the number per 1,000 population in each census tract; and the index for executives' residences on the number of executives of *a, b, c, d,* and *e* classifications (depending on the number of employees) per 1,000 residences (1950).

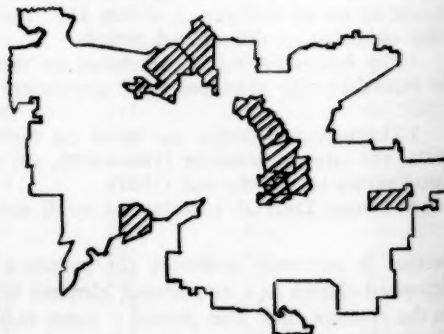
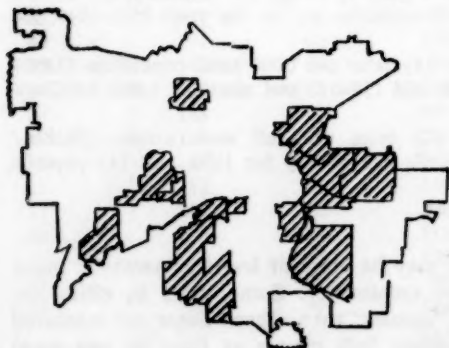
FIGURE 1. Graphic Summary of Characteristics of Census Tracts in Fort Worth with High and Low Indices for Suicide and Crime

I. Areas high in suicide, low in crime.

Suicide index	136
Crime index	46
Social status	133
Congregations	71
Native whites	113
Depressed folk	79
Executives	162

II. Areas low in suicide, high in crime.

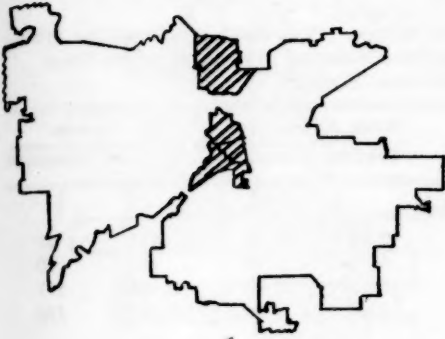
Suicide index	63
Crime index	192
Social status	79
Congregations	156
Native whites	61
Depressed folk	194
Executives	24



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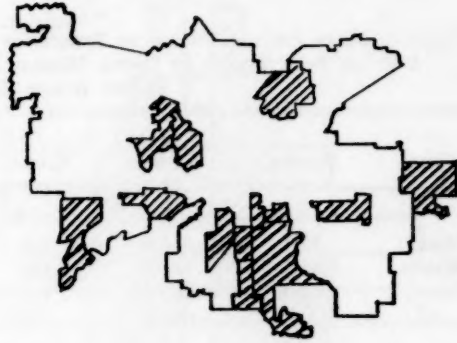
III. Areas high in suicide, high in crime.

Suicide index	145
Crime index	234
Social status	64
Congregations	204
Native whites	106
Depressed folk	161
Executives	43



IV. Areas low in suicide, low in crime.

Suicide index	62
Crime index	47
Social status	124
Congregations	68
Native whites	113
Depressed folk	80
Executives	108



V. Areas medium in suicide and in crime.

Suicide index	104
Crime index	95
Social status	87
Congregations	80
Native whites	111
Depressed folk	99
Executives	48



Areas of low suicide and high crime rates have low scores for social status, native whites, and executive residence, but high scores for churches. Four of the five areas high in both suicide and crime rates more nearly conform to the expected ecological pattern—they are near the heart of the city. They are low in social status and in executive residence, but high in indices of native white population and church congregations. Areas low in suicide and crime share the same zones with three other groups or categories. They rate high in social status, low to high in executive residence, and high in native whites, but low in church congregations. Areas medium in suicide and crime are low to medium in social status, low to high in con-

gregations, and low in executive residence, but high in the index of native white population.

The depressed folk index is high in the areas of low suicide and high crime, low in the areas of high suicide and low crime, high when both are high, low when both are low, and medium when both are medium. But over the whole series, as shown in Table 4, the coefficient of correlation of depressed folk and suicide is $-.14$; of depressed folk and crime, $+.72$.

WHAT ARE THE IMPACTS WHICH PRODUCE THESE RESULTS?

Many may assume the presence of Negroes in a Southern city to be the reason for the ecological pattern of pathological situations in Fort Worth. Few Negroes in Fort Worth—only ten out of 438 cases—have chosen “not to be” in the last twenty years: 1930–1949.¹⁴

¹⁴ The crude rate for suicides among Negroes in Fort Worth is less than one-half that of the Negro in the nation as a whole. That Negroes as such do not commit suicide is idle chatter. The non-white suicide rate in 1945 in New York per 100,000 non-whites over 15 years old (in 1940) was 9.3. This rate was greater than that for the entire population in the same age group for the same year in more than one-third of the states. The mean annual suicide rates for male non-whites over 15 years of age (in 1940) were for 1935, 1940, and 1945 as follows: 14.4, 14.1, and 13.6 in New York, Ohio, and Illinois, respectively, as compared with 6.7, 6.3, and 3.7 in Texas, Georgia, and Alabama. Most cities in our studies for the same period (*Crime, Suicide, Social Well-Being*, p. 99) had rates in the total population lower than in this specific age-sex group (non-white males in New York, Ohio, and Illinois).

To show, however, that few Negroes committed suicide, or that two-thirds of the 198 victims of homicide in the city during the years 1946-1950 were Negroes, explains nothing. In some areas Negroes are more suicidal than white populations elsewhere—than total populations in many states.¹⁴ Moreover, the Negro popula-

males is significantly higher than their percentage in the male population. Single people seem to be safer than the married from both causes of death—here the age factor may count.

Other comparisons are needed. When they are made, however, it may still be difficult to identify all the factors that enter into the posi-

TABLE 2. MEAN ANNUAL RATES AND INDICES OF VICTIMS OF SUICIDE (1930-1949) AND HOMICIDE (1946-1950) IN FORT WORTH BY UPPER, MIDDLE, AND LOWER CLASS WORKERS (AFTER A MODIFIED FORM OF THE NORTH-HATT OCCUPATIONAL SCALE)*

Class	Rating	Number Workers	Number cases		Mean Annual Rates		Indices	
			Suicide	Homicide	Suicide	Homicide	Suicide	Homicide
A. All Workers								
Upper	77.0	14,364	126	19	0.44	0.26	147	43
Middle	66.0	24,778	150	38	0.29	0.30	97	50
Lower	50.0	26,535	119	141	0.23	1.06	75	177
All		65,535	395**	198	0.30	0.60	100	100
B. Male Workers								
Upper	77.0	10,877	100	16	0.46	0.29	144	43
Middle	66.0	18,811	110	31	0.30	0.33	94	49
Lower	50.0	16,048	81	110	0.25	1.20	79	177
All		45,736	291	157	0.32	0.68	100	100

* North and Hatt gave "average scores" to certain occupational groups: 80.6 to professional workers, 74.9 to proprietors and managers, 52.8 to operatives, for example. My "upper" class workers are professional people, proprietors, and managers; "middle" class, white-collar workers, craftsmen, foremen, farm owners, and protective service workers; "lower" class, operatives, service workers, and laborers. The scores 77.0, 66.0, and 50.0 given here to the upper, middle, and lower categories are the "average scores" for the combined groups in the respective categories based on the number of workers in each sub-group.

** Fifteen of our newspaper cases show the occupation not listed in the news account, but these are probably distributed along the scale fairly evenly.

tion of Fort Worth generally belongs to the occupational category of lower class on the North-Hatt scale as applied in modified form to the city (Table 2). This class in these arrays is less suicidal, though more murderous, than the middle and upper classes.

Nor are the age and sex data self-explanatory (Figure 2-A and B). They show at what ages people are the victims of suicide or homicide,¹⁵ and indicate that men are the suicides in three out of four cases; the victims of homicide in nearly four out of five. Yet they do not give us the reasons for this distribution or account for the variations by census tracts. The data on family structure (in Table 3) explain none of these variations. They indicate no safety for the married—unless they are happily married. The percentage of suicides among widowed

tive or negative correlations of the series that are included in Table 4.

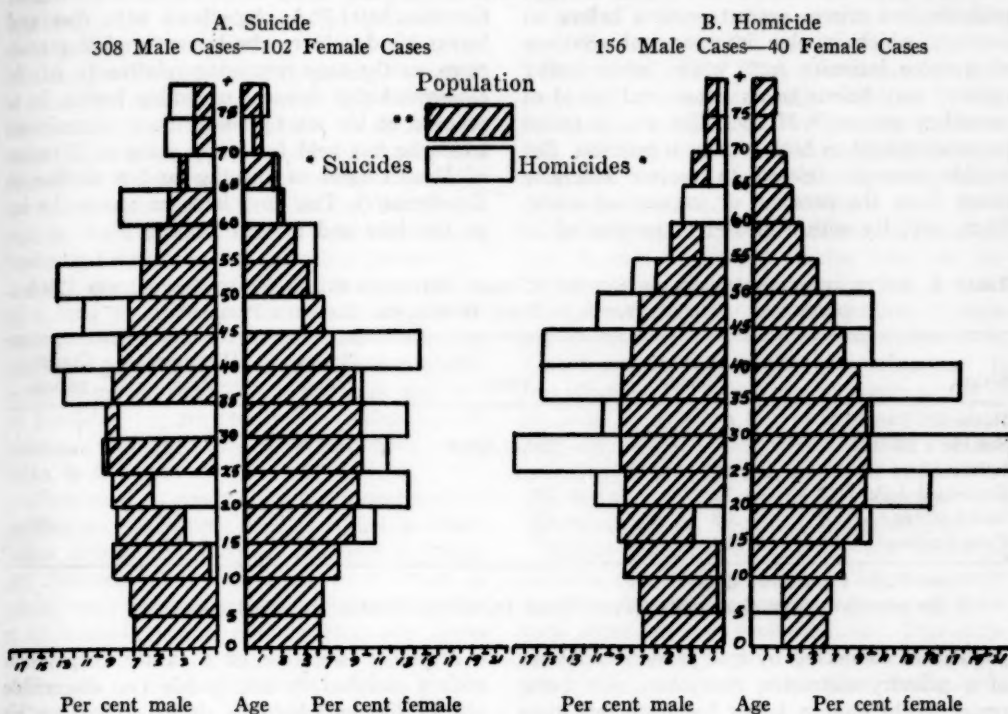
SOME HYPOTHETICAL FACTORS: GEMEINSCHAFT AND GESELLSCHAFT

Perhaps Durkheim and Menninger have made the most provocative contributions to theories of suicide.¹⁶ Menninger, more the particularist than Durkheim, has stressed the psychology of resentments thrust back upon the self. Durkheim's three types of suicides, the altruistic, anomique, and egoistic, are too well known to require discussion.

¹⁶ E. Durkheim, *Le Suicide* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930, 1899); Karl Menninger, *Man Against Himself* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938); Menninger, *The Human Mind* (New York: A. Knopf, 1937). I also consider important Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Causes du Suicide* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930) and Louis Dublin and Bessie Bunzel, *To Be or Not to Be* (New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1933), as well as the works already named herein.

¹⁵ Of course, the offender can be any age as compared with the victim in homicide. Our studies of the offenders, which we are trying to match with their victims, is now getting started.

FIGURE 2. Percentage of All Victims of Suicide (1930-1949) and Homicide (1946-1950) in Specific Age Groups as Compared with the Percentage of the Total Population in Each Group by Sex in Fort Worth in 1940



* Source: Bureau of Vital Statistics, Fort Worth, Texas.

** Source: U. S. Census, 1940, *Population*, Vol. II, Part 6, Table B-35, p. 1035.

The writer has also made some tentative suggestions,¹⁷ following ideas coming from

¹⁷ Porterfield, "Personality, Crime, and the Cultural Pattern," in *Current Approaches to Delinquency* (New York: National Probation and Parole Association, 1949), pp. 214-230; also his "Indices of Suicide and Homicide by States and Selected Cities: Some Southern-Non-Southern Contrasts," already cited; and Porterfield and Talbert, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

many sources,¹⁸ which are related to (1) impacts influencing types of behavior and (2) the reasons ecological patterns in Fort Worth differ

¹⁸ Beginning with Morselli and Ferri, cited by Halbwachs and Durkheim, extending through the writings of Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears, including Ellsworth Faris's psychology as indicated in his article, "Some Results of Frustration," *Sociology and Social Research*, 31 (1946), 87-92.

TABLE 3. MARITAL STATUS OF 410 VICTIMS OF SUICIDE (1930-1949) AND 198 VICTIMS OF HOMICIDE (1946-1950) IN FORT WORTH COMPARED WITH THE MARITAL STATUS OF THE TOTAL POPULATION FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND ABOVE IN 1940

Class	Per Cent of Total Population in Class		Per Cent of Suicides in Class		Per Cent of Homicides in Class	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Married	67.5	60.9	62.1	60.9	67.3	65.8
Single	25.7	20.5	24.5	19.1	19.0	13.2
Widowed	3.9	14.3	11.4	14.8	4.6	10.5
Divorced	2.9	4.3	2.1	5.2	9.1	10.5
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Suicides are only the newspaper cases, which do not contain 28 cases for which no news stories were found.

from those in Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Seattle.¹⁹

To be emphasized here, however, is the hypothesis that crimes against persons belong to contacts which involve interpersonal relations of a more intimate sort, while "white collar crimes" may belong to an impersonal world of secondary groups.²⁰ Murder, like sex, is rather personal, except as both become a business. But suicide may be related to factors emerging either from the personal or impersonal world. Thus, any city with a greater proportion of its

"Please bury me in a pauper's grave," writes one man without employment (*Gesellschaft failure*), "and don't notify no one [a rift in *Gemeinschaft*]." A physician's wife dies and leaves his daughter, who is contemplating marriage, as the only remaining relative (a rift in *Gemeinschaft*). Because of failing health, he is relieved of his job by the County Commission which he has held for many years as Director of Health (loss of prestige and a decline in *Gesellschaft*). Two days later he breaks the ice on the lake and drowns himself.

TABLE 4. CORRELATION OF INDICES OF SUICIDE, CRIME, DEPRESSED FOLK, SOCIAL STATUS, AND CONGREGATIONS BY CENSUS TRACTS IN FORT WORTH FOR SELECTED PERIODS*

Series	Suicide	Crime	Social Status	Depressed Folk	Congregations
Homicide ('46-'50)	-.05				
Suicide ('30-'49)		-.19(+.03)†	+.09	-.14	-.03
Crime (four estimates)	-.19(+.03)†		-.77	+.72	+.67
Depressed folk	-.14	+.72	-.56		+.71
Social status	+.09	-.77		-.56	-.46
Congregations	-.03	+.67	-.46	+.71	

* See Table 1 for basic data.

† The negative correlation omits Census Tract 18, which includes the retail district.

population connected by interpersonal relations of a primary character, everything else being equal, might have a larger homicide rate than if its people were controlled to a greater degree by relations of impersonality. In the latter situation, it might have more suicide. Perhaps Fort Worth belongs more to the former category, while the other cities named belong more to the latter; and perhaps the contrast holds for certain of their ecological zones which are expected to be pathological. Perhaps the proportions of the population in *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* situations, to use Tönnies' terms, is more important than their distributions in space.²¹

Considering primary group life and what Cooley called primary group ideals as belonging to *Gemeinschaft*, and assigning economic, political, and all contractual relationships to the category of *Gesellschaft*, it is possible to divide the cases of suicide and homicide as belonging to one, the other, or both types of situation. It is also possible to indicate a rift in the one or a conscious failure or decline in the other.

¹⁹ Refer to reference 17.

²⁰ The late Edwin H. Sutherland has made an indispensable contribution to the theory of crime in his explorations of white collar criminality. No one knows how much crime never gets into the statistics, nor about the class distribution of the whole volume of crime.

²¹ See Charles P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 21-29.

A young executive of a utility corporation with a satisfactory family life (no discernible rift in *Gemeinschaft*) is unhappy because his progress upward in the corporation is not more rapid, in spite of the fact that he has been frequently promoted. "We had big plans for that boy," said his superior after the young man snuffed himself out with a gun. In the realm of *Gesellschaft*, what is it that "makes Sammy run?" An attorney whose professional life is satisfactory (no decline in *Gesellschaft*) explains his suicide in a note which reads, "Many perplexing problems have confronted me since the death of my wife last May [a rift in *Gemeinschaft*]."

A pioneer woman with a possessive attitude toward her married daughter and a resentment against her son-in-law—a much honored air pilot—shoots her sleeping daughter and her two grandchildren because she fears she cannot keep the couple estranged (disturbance in *Gemeinschaft*). Then this woman, described by her son-in-law as "very religious," turns the gun upon herself. A young business man, having a love affair with a sailor's wife, is disturbed when the sailor's attempted suicide disrupts the relationship. He writes a note saying, "And now you are gone with all the beauty of the airborne rose." Then he shoots himself in the presence of an empty ring box, an empty corsage box, and a night gown that had never been worn. All this seems to have something to do with relations of *Gemeinschaft*!

Inadequate as our reports are, they suggest that suicides during the last twenty years in Fort Worth have had in their backgrounds a combination of unsatisfactory *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* relationships in at least 68 cases; rifts in *Gemeinschaft* as outstanding factors in at least 138 cases; and *Gesellschaft* failures or declines as prominent elements in at least 84 cases. Ill health was blamed by family and friends in 126 cases, but no relationship exists by census tracts between indices of health and suicide. Such a positive relationship does exist, however, between health and crime scores.

Attributing his suicide to ill-health, an official of a bank in depression distress wrote, "I am positive that I have committed no wrong. My health is gone, my job is gone, and probably many of my friends. This is my only way now of providing for my family by making my life insurance available that they may have something to live on."

Depression, however, does not equally affect persons who have been used to failure or whose value systems have been less competitive. Of the ten Negroes who took their lives, most of whom were treated in newspaper accounts as great curiosities and nothing else, one upper class man (in his world), whose wife was a leader among Negroes in welfare work, "had a quarrel with his wife over another woman and a bank account." Here was no inebriated killer of popular fancy wielding a razor. Here was upper class dignity with contacts in both the interpersonal and contractual world.

Most Negroes, however, in the area studied have other values more important to them than bank accounts, and are less dominated by economic motivations. Hence their troubles are more in the realm of interpersonal relations in which crimes against persons occur. If the social structure of Southern cities includes more of these primary elements than the Non-Southern, this fact could account for the differences between Fort Worth and the other cities named.

ECONOMIC CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM: II*

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Eastern New Mexico University

In a previous issue of the *Review*,¹ the writer demonstrated the positive correlation between

* The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Rollin Tindall, Indiana Central College, and to Howard Baumgartel, the Church Federation of Indianapolis, for their help in gathering the data for this study. The writer alone is responsible for the treatment of the data and the conclusions drawn therefrom.

¹ Thomas Ford Houl, "Economic Class Con-

sciousness in American Protestantism," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (February, 1950), pp. 97-100.

the relative economic status of various areas in Los Angeles, California, and the average denominational per capita wealth of churches located in the areas. Two tentative conclusions were drawn from this relationship: (1) that Douglass' statement, "The clew of local environment is . . . not generally valid as a basis for church classification,"² might bear revision; and (2) that the relationship might be interpreted as one measure of the degree to which class consciousness in an economic sense manifests itself ecologically in American Protestantism. It was discovered further that the distribution of Los Angeles Protestant churches did not correspond to the distribution of population, contrary to Douglass' discoveries in St. Louis³ and in Springfield, Massachusetts.⁴ In Los Angeles, the lower the economic status of an area, in general, the more churches there were per capita. It was suggested that this distribution, if not atypical, might be yet another manifestation of the operation of economic class considerations in American Protestantism.

In the above-described study one important question remained unanswered: To what extent were the data in Los Angeles unique and therefore unreliable for generalization? This question is answered in part by the present paper, which is a report of a study of Indianapolis churches.

To make the two studies as comparable as possible, the Indianapolis churches were studied in precisely the same way as those in Los Angeles, using the same types of data for the same years. Readers are referred to the original paper for details on procedure and limitations of both studies. There were the following necessary differences in procedure in the two cities:

(a) In Los Angeles, the economic status of each area was determined by rentals and home values, whereas in Indianapolis rental levels alone were used.⁵

(b) The source for church addresses in Los Angeles was a W.P.A. project publication, whereas the source for Indianapolis addresses

sciousness in American Protestantism," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (February, 1950), pp. 97-100.

² H. Paul Douglass, *1000 City Churches*, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926, p. 268.

³ H. Paul Douglass, *The St. Louis Church Survey*, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924, p. 59.

⁴ H. Paul Douglass, *The Springfield Church Survey*, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926, p. 279.

⁵ Data on rental levels in the various areas of the city were obtained from Frederick A. Shippey, *Protestantism in Indianapolis*, Indianapolis: The Church Federation of Indianapolis, 1946.

was the 1940 list of churches published by the Church Federation of Indianapolis.

(c) The population of each type of Indianapolis area was obtained from a mimeographed publication of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, dated February 14, 1951, whereas the population of the various Los Angeles areas was estimated indirectly.⁶

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS IN INDIANAPOLIS

The findings of the Indianapolis study are summarized in Table 1. The same relationship which existed in Los Angeles between the relative economic status of various areas and the average denominational per capita wealth of

TABLE 1. PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND POPULATIONS LOCATED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC AREAS OF INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA IN 1940

Type of Area by Rental Level*	Population of Area	Number of Churches in Area	Average Denominational Per Capita Wealth of Churches in Each Area
\$50-74	27,766	8	\$112.87
35-49	66,000	28	112.78
25-34	82,812	39	112.28
15-24	143,851	78	108.69
0-14	66,460	16	107.87

* Each area, considered as a unit because of its relative economic status, is made up of many widely separated blocks and tracts having the same rental levels. Because only one church was located in the "\$75 plus" area, it was not included in the tabulation.

churches located in the areas, prevailed in Indianapolis. The difference in the per capita wealth of the churches in each area in Los Angeles was measurable in dollars, whereas in Indianapolis the difference was measurable only in cents. But what is probably most important is that the relationship is consistent and in the same direction in both cases. As Lundberg states, quoting another writer, "Our opinion is unequivocally that small differences in the same direction may be as important as one large difference that is statistically significant."⁷ Until

⁶ See Hoult, *op. cit.*, note under Table 1, for description of method of making estimate. It should be noted parenthetically that the Los Angeles study excluded "a few" churches (see Hoult, *op. cit.*, fn. 4, p. 98), whereas in Indianapolis, out of a total of 180 white, Protestant churches, reliable data were obtainable for all but eleven.

⁷ George Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942), p. 71. One of the

contrary data are discovered, it probably can be concluded that Protestant churches in large urban centers are typically distributed in such a way that the various areas in such cities contain churches whose average relative denominational wealth matches the relative economic standing of their area. In turn, this means that to the extent that people attend churches in their home areas (and apparently most people do⁸), they will tend to be exposed only to doctrines which will not challenge their social position and beliefs.⁹ It should be obvious that this generalization has important implications for the sociology of religion.

Contrary to the situation in Los Angeles, it was found that the distribution of Indianapolis churches corresponds approximately to the distribution of population (see Columns 2 and 3, Table 1). Since this distribution is the same as that in Springfield and St. Louis, as noted above, it is probably safe to conclude that the concentration of churches in the lower economic areas of Los Angeles is atypical.

A SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF CURRENT RESEARCHES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

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In the present paper the assessment of the current level of research in the sociology of education is undertaken through a systematic analysis of a sample of published research papers. Three journals were judged to represent the largest number and the most rigorously reported of researches in the sociology of education during the period 1940-1950. The field of sociology of education itself has only one journal, the *Journal of Educational Sociology (JES)*. To represent sociology, the official publication of the American Sociological Society, the *American Sociological Review (ASR)*, was selected. Finally, to represent education,

reasons given for the quoted statement is as follows: "... social phenomena are complex and not likely to show large differences because of the configurational character of the social situation."

⁸ See Hoult, *op. cit.*, fn. 8, p. 99.

⁹ Providing, of course, that the social and religious doctrines of a church are correlated with its relative economic standing. This would be expected in a pecuniary culture; further, a previous unpublished study by the writer established the fact that there is some relationship between the conservatism of articles published in official church journals and the relative economic standing of the various denominations controlling the journals, with the wealthier denominations publishing, in general, the most conservative materials.

the *Journal of Educational Research (JER)*¹ which is devoted exclusively to research, was chosen.

In order to systematize the analysis four indices were formulated:

- 1) Number of researches in the sociology of education and their proportion to the total number of articles;
- 2) Affiliation of researchers with either the socio-

during 1940-50 in the *JES*, *ASR* and *JER*. The combined frequencies of published researches totaled 118 or 5.3 per cent of all articles. The annual percentage reached its maximum of 8 per cent in 1944. The following year there was a return to a previous percentage level (3 per cent). Succeeding percentages, as well as frequencies, have shown gradual small increases to the 1950 percentage of 7.3.

TABLE 1. PROPORTION OF RESEARCHES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION TO TOTAL NUMBER OF ARTICLES IN THREE JOURNALS, 1940-1950

Year	JES			ASR			JER			ALL JOURNALS		
	Total No. of Articles	Researches in Sociology of Education No.	Per cent	Total No. of Articles	Researches in Sociology of Education No.	Per cent	Total No. of Articles	Researches in Sociology of Education No.	Per cent	Grand Total of Articles	Researches in Sociology of Education No.	Per cent
1950	84	10	11.9	85	1	1.2	64	6	10.	233	17	7.3
1949	67	7	10.4	50	0	0	76	5	6.6	193	12	6.2
1948	76	4	5.	53	0	0	57	6	10.5	186	10	5.4
1947	86	7	8.	50	1	2.	63	2	3.2	199	10	5.
1946	71	4	5.6	71	1	1.4	60	4	6.7	202	9	4.5
1945	94	2	2.1	79	1	1.3	66	4	4.5	239	7	3.
1944	78	10	12.8	56	1	1.8	67	5	7.5	201	16	8.
1943	94	1	1.	68	4	5.9	61	2	3.3	223	7	3.1
1942	66	3	4.5	54	5	9.3	63	4	6.3	183	12	6.6
1941	74	2	4.	68	0	0	55	5	9.0	197	7	3.6
1940	70	5	7.	59	2	3.4	60	4	6.6	189	11	5.8
Grand Total	860	55	6.4	693	16	2.3	692	47	6.8	2245	118	5.3

logical or psychological professional organization;

- 3) Distribution of researches among four subject areas;
- 4) Utilization of research methods, theories or concepts, and hypotheses.

With these four indices as guides, the eleven volumes of each journal were scrutinized and relevant data were recorded and tabulated.

I

Table 1 indicates the relative number of articles in the sociology of education published

¹ For summaries of researches covering the period from 1940 to 1950 the following issues of the *Review of Educational Research*: XIII (Feb. 1943), "The War, Education, and Society"; XVI (Feb. 1946), "Social Foundations of Education"; and XIX (Feb. 1949), "The Social Framework of Education."

The number of articles for each journal during the entire period showed that the *JES* and *JER* published a similar percentage (*JES* 6.4 per cent and *JER* 6.8 per cent) while the percentage for the *ASR* was distinctly lower (2.4). In absolute numbers the total was greatest for the *JES*. The general pattern is confirmed by the median percentages (*JES* 5.6 per cent; *ASR* 1.4 per cent; *JER* 6.6 per cent) but the differences among the three journals are accentuated.

When the yearly frequencies of published researches in the journals are compared, the general pattern of percentages of production is found to hold for nine of the eleven years. In the other two years, 1942 and 1943, the *ASR* published more in absolute numbers as well as in percentages than did either of the other two journals. It can be seen from the table that there was a greater consistency in the frequencies and percentages of sociology of education

research in the *JER* than in the other journals studied.

In evaluating the results it must be borne in mind that the number of articles published in any field is a joint function of research production and editorial policies of scientific journals. Evaluation of the meaning of the quantitative data is limited by the lack of knowledge of the extent to which the two variables vary concomitantly. Do the variations of published researches indicate that a relatively small number of articles was submitted for publication or is it a reflection primarily of editorial preferences?

searchers. Leadership in the field of research is not reflected in numbers of published articles in the *JES*, *ASR*, and *JER* during 1940-50. However, the informed reader would recognize some outstanding sociologists and psychologists among the authors.

The only feasible, but admittedly arbitrary, measure of professional qualification is the membership of authors in the national organizations of the basic sciences most closely related to research in the sociology of education. The organizations chosen were the American Sociological Society and the American Psychological Association. While this index is limited

TABLE 2. ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF RESEARCHERS IN SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION AS REPORTED IN THREE JOURNALS, 1940-1950

Affiliation: *	JOURNALS							
	JES		ASR		JER		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
American Sociological Society	19	27	12	63	0	0	31	22
American Psychological Association.....	10	14	0	0	12	25	22	16
No membership in these organizations.....	42	59	7	37	36	75	85	62
TOTAL	71	100	19	100	48	100	138	100

* Data from the 1950 directories of the two organizations.

Only those researches which are communicated to the scientific world, through journals or books, can contribute to the body of knowledge of a field of science. Whatever the variables involved in the quantity of research publications, the quantity itself is a legitimate index of the present level of research in the sociology of education.

II

Full evaluation of the production in any science demands some sort of assessment of the people making the contributions. Is the field of research in the sociology of education dominated by a few or are the contributions widely dispersed? What are the professional qualifications of the researchers?

Wide dispersion in authorship characterizes the research articles examined. As Table 2 shows, 138 authors participated in the 118 articles.

The excess of authors over articles reflects the occasional occurrence of multiple authorship, with as many as four names appearing. The figure 138 masks the fact that some authors had more than one article published. From the evidence it appears that the field of publication is not dominated by any small group of re-

searchers. Leadership in the field of research, it offers an accessible basis for estimating the probable extent of training of authors in the two basic sciences and of identification with the professional organizations of the sciences.

The number of authors affiliated with either the sociological or psychological organizations is relatively small. Table 2 shows that 22 per cent belong to the sociological and 16 per cent to the psychological groups. If the data for each journal are studied separately, a somewhat different picture emerges. Of the three journals the *ASR* had the largest percentage (63 per cent) of affiliated authors. In the case of this journal affiliation was with the sociological society. The *JES* had the next largest percentage (41 per cent) with 27 per cent belonging to the sociological and 14 per cent to the psychological groups. Finally, 25 per cent of the authors of researches in the *JER* were affiliated; all of these belonged to the psychological organization.

Another datum concerning the authors which is available in the journals and in the directories of the professional organizations is the place of employment. The vast majority of authors were found to be associated with colleges and

universities. The rest were distributed among public schools and state agencies.

When the data are interpreted, it must again be borne in mind that the findings reflect both editorial policy and persons submitting materials. The ratio of articles to authors submitting them suggests that this field of research offers wide opportunity. The standards set by the researches of some of the outstanding sociologists or psychologists who do publish in all three journals can serve as incentive.

for all journals are found in area one, with the remaining small percentages falling into areas two and three.

While the largest proportion of researches is classified under area four, it must be pointed out that the main relation of these studies to "the impact of the school on the behavior and personality of its participants" lies in their having students and teachers as subjects. Only a small proportion of researches cover such sociologically significant topics, mentioned by

TABLE 3. AREAS COVERED IN RESEARCHES AS REPORTED IN THREE JOURNALS, 1940-1950

Areas	JOURNALS							
	JES		ASR		JER		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
No. 1 Educational system and other aspects of society	22	40	4	25	12	25	38	32
No. 2 Human relations within school.....	2	3	2	13	4	9	8	7
No. 3 Relations between school and society	7	13	1	6	2	4	10	8
No. 4 Impact of school on behavior and personality	24	44	9	56	29	62	62	53
TOTAL	55	100	16	100	47	100	118	100

III

The following part of this evaluation of current researches in the sociology of education classifies the 118 articles into four areas suggested by Brookover.² An "area" is defined as an empirical, and sometimes perhaps even an accidental, fraction of a science. In the sociology of education a number of topics³ make up the four areas:

1. Relations of the school system to other aspects of society.
2. Human relations within the school.
3. Relations between school and society.
4. The impact of the school on the behavior and personality of its participants.

About half of all the researches fall into area number four. Table 3 shows that the three journals published more researches dealing with the impact of the school on behavior and personality. Thirty-two per cent of the researches

Brookover, as social roles of teachers, role of school on student growth, nature of behavior resulting from various degrees of school situations, etc.

A similar statement in regard to the choice of research topics must be made for the other three areas. Such topics as race relations, juvenile delinquency, and comics outrank significantly research topics dealing with stratification, cliques, school culture, leadership, effects of school on community, and effects of community group on the educational system.

The present research situation in the sociology of education is characterized by a scarcity of researches dealing with topics which appear integral to the field. Human relations within the school and the reciprocal effects of the school system and the larger social system represent the most neglected areas of research. Among the subjects studied there exists a conspicuous absence of investigations studying educational leadership.

IV

A knowledge of the extent to which available and pertinent research methods and theories are utilized is of crucial import in the evaluation of scientific products. In this final step of the evaluation the extent of use of various research methods and of theoretical concepts and hypotheses will be presented.

² W. B. Brookover, "Sociology of Education: A Definition," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (June 1949), 407-415.

³ E.g., Brookover lists in his previously mentioned article such topics as relation of educational system to cultural change, relation of education to social class and status, function of the educational system in the process of social control, etc. under the first area. Corresponding topics are also identified for the remaining three areas.

TABLE 4. METHODS USED IN RESEARCHES AS REPORTED IN THREE JOURNALS, 1940-1950

Method	JOURNALS							
	JES		ASR		JER		TOTAL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Opinion questionnaire	22	40	12	75	18	38	52	44
Records	17	31	1	6	10	21	28	24
Standard tests	4	7	1	6	10	21	15	13
Converging methods	3	5	0	0	6	13	9	8
Interviews	6	11	1	6	1	2	8	6
Observation	2	4	0	0	2	5	4	3
Sociogram	1	2	1	6	0	0	2	2
Experiment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	55	100	16	99	47	100	118	100

Table 4 shows that for all three journals the opinion questionnaire was the most frequently used. As sources of research data for the combined studies records ranked second and standard tests third. Studies in the *JES*, however, utilized records more than four times as frequently as standard tests. The other two journals had studies using both methods with equal frequency. All other methods taken together accounted for only 19 per cent of the total. No studies employing standard experimental procedures were reported in the three journals during the past decade.

References to any sociological or psychological theoretical concepts is rare. The studies reported in the *ASR*, as can be seen from Table 5, refer more frequently to some theoretical concepts than do those in either of the other two journals. Seventy-five per cent of all the researches in the *ASR* bear no explicit relevance to theory. In the case of the *JER*, 96 per cent of all studies are unrelated to existing concepts. The percentage for the *JES* is 82 per cent.

The data summarized in Table 5 also make clear that only a small percentage of the reported studies contain formally stated hypoth-

eses. It is of interest that the journal (*ASR*) which uses concepts most employs hypotheses least and that the journal (*JER*) which makes the fewest references to concepts ranks high in its use of hypotheses.

The present situation of research in the sociology of education must be gauged by many indices. A partial description of the researches and of the number and content of the researches has now been augmented by data referring to methods and theories.

The single most significant observation in regard to methods is absence of a variety of research methods. While the opinion questionnaire may be in some cases the only meaningful or feasible method of investigation, it seems that the variety of designs would have permitted at least the simultaneous use of additional methods in an effort to enhance the validity of the findings.

The researches in the past decade are also marked by an absence of theories and hypotheses. Scientists writing on applied science⁴ have

⁴ See for instance J. B. Conant's *Science and Common Sense*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951, for his emphasis on dependable concepts in all types of research.

TABLE 5. EMPLOYMENT OF THEORIES AND HYPOTHESES IN RESEARCHES AS REPORTED IN THREE JOURNALS, 1940-1950

	Theoretical Concepts								Hypotheses							
	JOURNALS								JOURNALS							
	JES		ASR		JER		TOTAL		JES		ASR		JER		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Present	10	18	4	25	2	4	16	14	9	16	1	6	8	17	18	15
Absent	45	82	12	75	45	96	102	86	46	84	15	94	39	83	100	85
TOTAL	55	100	16	100	47	100	118	100	55	100	16	100	47	100	118	100

pointed out the practical significance of adequate conceptual schemes for the formulation of meaningful hypotheses.

Science has been said by M. R. Cohen⁵ to be characterized by its subordination of all considerations to the "pursuit of the ideal of certainty, exactness, universality, and system." Very few concepts have found their way into research in sociology of education and even fewer hypotheses have been tested. As a consequence, the distinction between common-sense investigation and so-called science becomes blurred.

AN ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE CITED IN THE *AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

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What are the characteristics of the literature cited by writers in the field of sociology? How much does sociology draw on other fields of knowledge? In what ways does the literature of sociology differ from that of other fields?

In an attempt to answer these questions, an analysis was made of all footnote references in the *American Sociological Review* for 1950, and certain comparisons made with two recent studies at the University of Chicago; one in

⁵ M. R. Cohen, *Reason and Nature: An Essay on the Meaning of Scientific Method*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931, p. 83.

chemistry and physics;¹ the other in United States History.² These studies are the most recent and most complete of many such analyses, many of which have been done in the natural sciences.

FORMS OF LITERATURE CITED

A total of 1,016 references were found in *ASR*, omitting duplicate citations from the same source article. Of these, 470 (46.3 per cent) were to serial publications, including numbered monograph series and yearbooks; and 536 (53.7 per cent) to non-serials, including academic theses. This division of the literature may be compared with approximately 46 per cent serials found by McAnally to be true of a sample of about 1,200 American History references cited in 1938. However, Fussler, who, among other studies, analyzed samples of the *Journal of the American Chemical Society* and the *Physical Review* for 1946, found over 92 per cent of the citations in each journal to be for serial literature.³

SUBJECT DISTRIBUTION AND AGE

Tables 1 and 2 give a breakdown of the references to serials and non-serials, respec-

¹ Fussler, Herman H., "Characteristics of the Research Literature Used by Chemists and Physicists in the United States," *Library Quarterly*, 19 (1949), pp. 19-35 and 119-143.

² McAnally, Arthur Monroe, "Characteristics of Materials Used in Research in United States History" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago), 1951. 185 pp.

³ Because of the few references to non-serial literature found in Fussler's study, further consid-

TABLE 1. SERIAL LITERATURE CITED IN *American Sociological Review*, 1950, BY AGE AND SUBJECT

Subject	Age in Years							Total	Per Cent
	0-2	3-5	6-10	11-15	16-25	26-	n.d.		
Gen. Newspapers, AN	5	6	1	1	..	..	..	13	2.8
Gen. Periodicals, AP	4	7	2	6	..	3	..	22	4.7
Psychology, BF	6	4	2	5	4	..	1	22	4.7
History, D	3	3	1	2	2	..	..	11	2.3
Anthropology, G	6	5	5	4	4	..	1	25	5.3
Social Sci., H	4	7	2	3	..	1	..	17	3.6
Statistics, HA	3	4	1	5	2	1	1	17	3.6
Sociology, HM	48	33	38	18	11	1	..	149	31.7
Soc. Hist., Reform. Groups, HN	4	2	4	..	6	..	..	16	3.4
Soc. Path., Philanth. Charities, Corr.									
HV	5	5	1	3	1	1	..	16	3.4
Other, H	9	4	11	6	1	..	..	31	6.6
Education, L	4	3	6	..	2	..	1	16	3.4
Medicine, R	5	9	15	7	2	..	1	39	8.3
Misc. and Unclass.	29	11	16	7	4	3	6	76	16.2
TOTALS	135	103	105	67	39	10	11	470	....
PER CENT	28.7	21.9	22.3	14.2	8.3	2.1	2.3	...	....

tively, according to subject classifications made by the Library of Congress. While many problems arise in any attempt to categorize and classify knowledge or research, this system provides as good an objective measure as is reasonably possible.

"Age in Years" refers to the age of the reference when cited in the 1950 *ASR* (e.g. "0-2" means references published in 1948, 1949, or 1950).

whole. For chemistry, 68.5 per cent of the serial literature for 1946 was classified in chemistry; and for physics 69.9 per cent was drawn from physics itself.

Sociology would seem to concentrate slightly more than history, therefore, but less than the physical sciences.

Sociologists tend to use very recent literature for research, compared with that for the other fields studied. Of the serials, 72.9 per cent,

TABLE 2. NON-SERIAL LITERATURE CITED IN *American Sociological Review*, 1950, BY AGE AND SUBJECT

Subject	Age in Years						n.d.	Total	Per Cent
	0-2	3-5	6-10	11-15	16-25	26-			
Psychology, BF	8	1	4	3	..	1	..	17	3.1
Philos. Relig. Other, B.....	1	1	1	2	3	2	..	10	1.9
History, D.....	4	12	1	4	2	..	..	23	4.3
Amer. Hist., E-F	10	13	18	6	2	2	..	51	9.4
Geog., Anthropol., G.....	6	3	2	8	5	..	..	24	4.5
Gen. Soc. Sci., H	5	6	3	1	5	..	..	20	3.6
Statistics, HA	6	3	2	..	..	..	..	11	2.0
Economics, HB-D	7	19	11	2	1	6	..	46	8.4
Sociology, HM	18	11	4	10	10	3	..	56	10.2
Soc. Hist. Reform., HN.....	9	2	5	2	1	1	..	20	3.7
Family, Marriage, Woman, HQ.....	7	8	3	3	3	..	..	24	4.5
Communities, Classes, Races, HT...	10	3	5	..	3	..	..	21	3.8
Soc. Path., HV.....	2	2	2	3	5	1	..	15	2.7
Pol. Sci., J.....	4	5	1	3	2	1	..	16	2.9
Medicine, R	6	10	2	4	..	1	..	23	4.3
Misc. and Unclass.	23	34	20	14	7	10	8	116	21.2
Theses and Unpub.	17	6	3	4	7	..	16	53	9.9
TOTALS	137	142	88	71	56	28	24	546	....
PER CENT	25.1	26.0	16.1	13.0	10.3	5.1	4.4	...	....

As might be expected, the references from the *ASR* are concentrated in the social sciences. Nearly one-third of the serial citations are to "HM" (sociology) and over half are in classification "H" (social sciences). If other fields, such as education, psychology, anthropology, history, and political science, usually considered social sciences, are taken together, they include approximately 75 per cent of the serial citations.

For non-serials, there is greater diversity of subject, with only 10.4 per cent in sociology, but, here also, there is a concentration of about 75 per cent in the broad categories of social science.

Though subject comparisons are less meaningful because of diversity of scope and publication rates among the various fields, in American history about 38 per cent of the references cited in 1938 were found to be in history, and about 64 per cent in the social sciences as a

eration of this form has been excluded from this paper in the interest of saving space.

and of the non-serials 67.2 per cent of the items cited were ten years old or less. Only a few of the references were older than twenty-five years.

By contrast, the literature used for research in American history is much older. Only 21.6 per cent of the citations for 1938 were as young as ten years of age, and 27.6 per cent were between fifty and one hundred years old. In chemistry research, 57.4 per cent of the serial references were ten years old or less; in physics, 72.5 per cent.

In this respect, therefore, sociology seems more like the natural sciences.

LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION

Table 3 gives an analysis of the 1016 references by languages. The preponderance of English sources cited by writers in this journal is apparent when this table is compared with the references cited in chemistry and physics serials for 1946 based on an analysis made by country of publication. In chemistry, 53.1 per cent of

the references were published in the United States; 12.7 in Great Britain; 24 per cent in Germany; 4.8 per cent in France, and 5.4 per cent in other countries. For physics, 57.7 per cent of the references were from the United States; 14.7 per cent from Great Britain; 12.6 per cent from Germany; 2.6 per cent from France; and 12.4 per cent from other countries.

It is not surprising that for American history, 96.4 per cent of the references were published in either the United States or Great Britain.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To the extent that references made by footnotes in the official journal of the American Sociological Society, 1950, represent a true pic-

accepted in the fields of psychoanalysis, psychology and sociology. In studying the dominant, equalitarian and submissive roles of husband and wife in marriage, the influence of early affectional interaction to parents, therefore, will be taken into consideration. While different disciplines may have different conceptual systems in regard to the relation between early interactions and later marital roles, it seems to be of interest to find out statistically such association in a group of 589 married couples.¹

This paper will report the results of an investigation on the relation between young couple's conflict-attachment relationship with their own parents before marriage on the one

TABLE 3. LANGUAGE OF CITATIONS FROM *American Sociological Review*, 1950, IN PERCENTAGES

	English	German	French	Russian	Spanish	Others
Serials	90.0	.7	.4	8.0	....	.9
Non-serials	91.4	1.3	1.8	3.0	2.3	.2

ture for American sociologists as a whole, it may be said that researchers in this field tend to use literature which is: (1) rather evenly divided between serials and non-serials; (2) focussed with fairly high concentration in the areas of sociology and social sciences; (3) comparatively recent in date; and (4) weighted heavily in the English language.

The small proportion of references to the humanities suggests the possibility of fruitful extended research on social implications in this tremendous body of literature. Though such research may be the burden principally of the fields of art, literature, religion, and others, it cannot be overlooked by a developing science of sociology.

The recency of materials cited may mean that concepts in sociology are changing as rapidly as are those in physics, and more rapidly than those in chemistry, but may imply that the historical approach to problems is not being used fully.

The scarcity of French and German references indicates that either the usual doctoral language requirements should be modified or special effort should be made to stimulate research on problems in which knowledge of French and German is more advantageous.

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP AND MARITAL ROLES

YI-CHUANG LU

University of Chicago

The importance of early parent-child relational patterns for subsequent husband-wife relationship in marriage has been generally

hand, and their dominant-equalitarian-submissive role in marriage on the other. It is assumed that positive associations exist between "presence of conflict" with parents and the dominant role; and between "absence of conflict, but presence of attachment" to parents and the equalitarian role in marriage.

The instrument to measure dominant, equalitarian and submissive roles in marriage in this study is an index consisting of sixteen personality and relationship items.² Among the items included were: tries to get own way even if has to fight for it; tends to be dominant or submissive in relations with the opposite sex; stubborn or yielding; wishes to change spouse's temperamental characteristics such as presence or absence of tendency to take the lead, insistence on own way; and spouse or self giving in when disagreements arise between them.

HUSBAND'S AFFECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP TO PARENTS

(1) *His conflict-attachment to father.*³ The present study reveals significant differences be-

¹ Most of the couples in this study were urban, college-educated and from middle-class families. All of them were whites. For a detail account of the social characteristics of this sample, see Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin: *A Study of Adjustment in Engagement and Marriage* (to be published by J. P. Lippincott Co., N. Y.).

² The method devised to measure roles in marriage will be found in Yi-chuang Lu: "Marital Roles and Marriage Adjustment," *Sociology and Social Research*—the May, 1952 or later issue.

³ The term "conflict" used in this study includes: the amount of moderate, a good deal and almost

tween the husband-more-dominant role and the equalitarian role in relation to the husband's early affectional relationship to his father.

Table 1 shows that a significantly larger percentage of the husbands who reported conflict relationship than those who reported absence of conflict with their fathers is in the husband-more-dominant group. A significantly larger percentage of those who reported absence of conflict than those who reported presence of

a manner similar to his affectional relationship with his father, a considerably higher percentage of husband-more-dominant cases is found among those husbands who had conflict, than those who reported little or no conflict relationship with their mothers. There is also a significantly larger percentage of the husbands who reported absence of conflict, but presence of attachment to their mothers in the group where the marriage relationship is equalitarian. Again,

TABLE 1. HUSBAND'S CONFLICT WITH AND ATTACHMENT TO FATHER AND MARITAL ROLES

Husband's Conflict-Attachment to Father	Number of Cases	Marital Role					
		Husband More Dominant		Equalitarian		Wife More Dominant	
		Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR
Absence of conflict and attachment	56	25.0	-2.7	41.1	2.1	33.9	
Absence of conflict, presence of attachment	378	32.5	-2.5	36.0	2.5	31.5	
Presence of conflict (presence or absence of attachment)	142	44.4*		25.3*		30.3	
Total	576						

* The starred figures in this and the following tables are taken as the points of origin for determining the critical ratio (CR) of the difference between the percentages. A CR of 2.0 will be taken as statistically significant in this study.

conflict relationship with their fathers is in the equalitarian role group. The data in Table 1 also indicate that no significant relation is found between the wife-more-dominant role and the husband's conflict-attachment relationship to his father.

(2) *His conflict-attachment to mother.* The presence or absence of conflict of the husband with his father is, as just indicated, associated with his respective dominant or equalitarian role in marriage. Is his early affectional relationship with his mother also associated with his role in marriage?

An examination of Table 2 indicates that in

continuous conflict; while absence of conflict means "no" or "very little" conflict. The term "attachment" includes: the amount of moderate, a good deal and very close attachment; while absence of attachment means "very little" or "no" attachment.

like his affectional relationship with his father, no association exists between the husband's affectional relationship with his mother and the wife-more-dominant role in marriage.

WIFE'S AFFECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP TO PARENTS

(1) *Her conflict-attachment to father.* An inspection of the data in Table 3 fails to show any significant association between the wife's conflict-attachment relationship to her father and her dominant-equalitarian-submissive role in marriage. This finding indicates that the wife's early affectional relationship with her father does not have significant bearing on her role relationship in marriage.

(2) *Her conflict-attachment to mother.* It is interesting to note in Table 4 that like the husband's conflict with his father and mother; the wife's conflict relationship with her mother

TABLE 2. HUSBAND'S CONFLICT WITH AND ATTACHMENT TO MOTHER AND MARITAL ROLES

Husband's Conflict- Attachment to Mother	Number of Cases	Marital Role					
		Husband More Dominant		Equalitarian		Wife More Dominant	
		Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR
Absence of conflict and attachment	22	22.7	-1.8	31.8		45.5	1.5
Absence of conflict, presence of attachment	430	33.7		36.7	2.2	29.5*	
Presence of conflict (presence or absence of attachment)	137	40.1*		27.0*		32.8	
Total	589						

is also significantly related to her more dominant role in marriage. And the absence of conflict, but presence of attachment of the wife to her mother is also significantly associated with her equalitarian role. On the other hand, a considerably higher percentage of husband-more-dominant cases is found in those wives who reported absence of both conflict and attachment to their mothers.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In summary, the analysis of the foregoing four tables revealed these findings:

(1) *Husband-more-dominant* role is positively associated with the following items: (a) the husband's conflict relationship with his father; (b) the husband's conflict relationship with his mother; (c) the wife's absence of conflict, but presence of attachment to her mother.

TABLE 3. WIFE'S CONFLICT WITH AND ATTACHMENT TO FATHER AND MARITAL ROLES

Wife's Conflict- Attachment to Father	Number of Cases	Marital Role					
		Husband More Dominant		Equalitarian		Wife More Dominant	
		Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR
Absence of conflict and attachment	33	27.3*		30.3		42.4	1.4
Absence of conflict, presence of attachment	404	36.6	1.2	33.7		29.7*	
Presence of conflict (presence or absence of attachment)	133	31.6		33.8		34.6	
Total	570						

(2) *Equalitarian role* is positively associated with the following items: (a) the husband's absence of conflict with his father; (b) the husband's absence of conflict, but presence of attachment to his mother; (c) the wife's absence of conflict, but presence of attachment to her mother.

(3) *Wife-more-dominant role* is positively associated with her conflict relationship with her mother.

with hostile and insecure feelings and reactions. A psychological need to release such hostility, to safeguard against anxiety, and against the danger of the feeling of unwantedness seems to be obvious. The striving for domination or power is one of the ways to serve such purpose. In the marriage relationship it is but natural that they have the needs to dominate their mates. On the other hand, if a person had little or no conflict experience with his parents, it shows

TABLE 4. WIFE'S CONFLICT WITH AND ATTACHMENT TO MOTHER AND MARITAL ROLES

Wife's Conflict- Attachment to Mother	Number of Cases	Marital Role					
		Husband More Dominant		Equalitarian		Wife More Dominant	
		Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR	Per Cent	CR
Absence of conflict and attachment	28	75.0*		17.8*		7.1	-1.3
Absence of conflict, presence of attachment	398	33.2	-4.9	36.9	2.5	29.9	-2.2
Presence of conflict (presence or absence of attachment	156	32.1	-4.8	28.2		39.7*	
Total	582						

The present investigation also found that no relation exists between the husband's affectional relationship to his father or mother and his submissive role in marriage (i.e. wife-more-dominant role). Also the wife's affectional relationship to her father has nothing to do with either dominant or equalitarian or submissive role in the marital relationship.

In general, the present investigation tends to indicate that the conflict relationship with own parent before marriage is associated with one's dominant role, and the absence of such conflict, but presence of attachment to parents, particularly to the mother, is related to equalitarian role in marriage, although the wife's affectional relationship to her father is not found to be significantly correlated with her marital role at all.

The association between parent-child conflict and dominant role in marriage can be explained in terms of psychological needs. It is expected that those young men or women who had conflict with their parents were more preoccupied

that he does not have such psychological need to dominate. Consequently he is in a position to play the equalitarian role in marriage relationship. And if a husband or a wife was consciously attached⁴ to his or her mother, he was also in a better position to play equalitarian role in marriage, because the conscious attachment to mother indicates his probable secure childhood life, which means that he may not have the psychological need to protect himself against feeling of rejection.

The relatively greater importance of the affectional relationship with one's mother, par-

⁴ The attachment in this study denotes the kind of affectional relationship with parents which is of a conscious nature. The data were from schedules filled out by a normal, urban, middle class population. Therefore, the attachment here in this study is different from the kind of *unconscious overattachment* found by the psychoanalysts from their patients.

ticularly the wife's, than with one's father in relation to roles in marriage, may be interpreted by the general matricentric nature of the middle class families from which the sample for this research was drawn. Because of the greater amount of time a mother spends with her children, she is much more responsible for either providing or frustrating their needs of affection and security. Therefore her conflict-attachment

relationship with children plays a far greater role in children's lives than that of the father's.

The parent-child affectional relationship is only one of the factors that is related to marital roles. Other influences such as psychogenic and social factors as related to the role relationship of husband and wife in marriage have been studied by the writer and will be presented in later papers.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION



A SOUR NOTE ON QUESTIONNAIRES

To the Editor:

Robert F. Winch's article, "Further Data and Observations on the Oedipus Hypothesis," A. S. R., December, 1951, while stimulating in its hypotheses and interpretative theory, raises again a basic question in socio-psychological research: Can the questionnaire be considered a valid instrument in conducting research into human dynamics?

An enormous number of studies have used this method for the simple reason that data can be obtained with relative ease. At the same time the categories commonly employed are oversimplified. Students of human dynamics know full well the baffling complexities of the emotional life. Today, for example, it is generally believed that ambivalence is a fundamental characteristic of psychodynamics. Yet, in the face of this knowledge, sociologists continue to ask naive questions of college students and other exploited classes.

Moreover, taking it for granted that more adequate questionnaires are filled out in a spirit of sincerity, how much validity can be assigned to the respondent's self-insight? Such insight varies from individual to individual, of course, and can be developed through education, but comparatively few are able to strip away the outer layers of their defense systems the moment a set of mimeographed questions is placed before them.

The superficiality of unsophisticated self-analysis increases when the concept of the "unconscious" is considered. Every psychoanalyst knows that it commonly requires weeks and months before unconscious dynamics are brought to light in conscious thought. This is particularly true of family relationships—and a large proportion of the questionnaire studies of sociologists deal with relationships within the family.

At present we are trying to improve methods of research but it is bootless to refine the analytical phases while paying little attention to the original data. Neither elaborate statistical techniques (buttressed with formidable mathematical equations) nor devices for mechanical selection and computation can raise a scientific study higher than its original sources. Therefore it would be more profitable, in the present stage

of development, to concentrate upon the collection of more accurate data, even though this should mean a sacrifice of quantity for quality.

One can understand the desire of an investigator, limited in time, money and facilities, to obtain as many cases as possible with the greatest economy of effort, but this zeal can be misdirected. In spite of their good intentions, such research workers are building on shaky foundations. They have been led astray by a blind worship of induction, believing that a thousand cases are necessarily fifty times better than twenty. The simple fact is that meretricious data are worth nothing to science, no matter how great the quantity of these.

Financial grants for sociological study are increasing in an encouraging manner and we can now engage in research with fewer imperatives to take short cuts. This should lead to significant improvements in methods of gathering socio-psychological data. With such progress in view, it now seems fitting to transport all old-fashioned questionnaires, with ritualistic solemnity, to a social-science museum where they can be placed on permanent display for the amusement of a more sophisticated generation of investigators.

CLAUDE C. BOWMAN

Temple University

REJOINDER: A PLEA FOR SWEET REASONABLENESS

To the Editor:

As I understand his remarks, Professor Bowman has stated or implied three main points:

1. Despite "the baffling complexities of the emotional life" sociologists (and I in particular) ask naive questions in questionnaires.
2. Since respondents are not aware of their unconscious dynamics, their responses are invalid.
3. Twenty cases intensively studied are preferable to 1000 studied more or less superficially.

In an earlier paper I have stated that "in psychoanalytic theory behavior is a multi-valued function of a basic dynamic (contingent upon the mechanisms employed),"¹ and hence I feel

¹ "Some Data Bearing on the Oedipus Hypothesis," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 45 (1950), p. 481.

free to agree completely with the assertion that "emotional life" is "complex." The adverb "bafflingly" merely states that at present "emotional life" is incompletely understood, which is of course the justification for studying it.

The second part of Bowman's first objection is a little less clear. I am not sure whether the phrase "naive questions" means that I was naive in asking the questions, or whether I was asking naive questions but not necessarily for naive reasons. In my own judgment the questions had to be naive in the sense that the respondents were not expected to be sophisticated about their own psychodynamics; hence they could be expected to comprehend and to respond with minimum defensiveness only to questions which would appear to the sophisticate to be naive.

This leads immediately to the second objection. Bowman concludes that the responses must therefore be invalid. Here I do not believe he is on substantial ground. The charge of invalidity may mean (a) that the data are meaningless, or (b) that they mean something other than that which they are represented as meaning. But if the categories in my data were meaningless, we should expect the data to behave like a set of random numbers. This they clearly did not do. Since the distributions made a complex but highly consistent pattern, and since test after test showed that the distributions could hardly have occurred by chance, I was somewhat surprised to note that Bowman felt no constraint to offer any counter-hypotheses.

We shall all agree that the presence of patterns in a set of data does not guarantee their validity. Data may be measuring something other than that which they were intended to measure. Indeed it might be argued from the Freudian concept of reaction-formation that the categories in my data represent the opposite of what they were supposed to represent.

Now what can be said about the validity of my data? First it should be noted that for groups of questions (including those used in the last article) coefficients of validity have been reported.² In view of the fact that I was pressed for space in the last article I did not reiterate the previously published material on validity. But to illustrate the nature of the validity of the questions used, let me report on the item: "Which of your parents do you love more?" (Of the seven questions used in the article under consideration, it is my judgment that this one should be most subject to the kind of invalidity Bowman appears to have in mind.) I have long life histories from 26 subjects who responded

to the schedule. These histories were rated by a panel of six competent (i.e., psychodynamically sophisticated) judges for the degree to which each subject "loved" each parent. Using the three possible responses to the question ("father," "mother," and "undecided") as the trichotomy and the difference between the mean judges' ratings on father and on mother as the quantitative variable, I did a single classification analysis of variance which revealed that the means were in the proper rank order to indicate validity and that the variance ratio was significant at the 5 per cent level and just .08 short of significance at the 1 per cent level ($F=5.58$; $df=2, 23$).

This demonstration of significance in the intended direction certainly does not indicate a high degree of validity. But I have nowhere claimed a high degree of validity. For my purposes it suffices that the questions discriminate in the right direction. Here is where Professor Bowman and I have a definite parting of the ways. He implies an Aristotelian "all-or-none" concept of validity; either data are valid or they are invalid. If any concept in social science is to be relegated to the museum (or better, the boneyard), this is my first candidate. Since perfect validity seems to exist only as a model, we must accept the notion of imperfect validity if we are to do research. It is fruitless to ask whether or not a measure is valid. The appropriate questions are: how closely associated are the measure and the criterion, is the correlation significant, and in the desired direction?

In taking up Bowman's third point I should like to conclude with an observation on the use of extensive procedures (few data per case on a large number of cases) vs. intensive procedures (more detailed and intimate information on a small number of cases). I should hold that there are some situations wherein the extensive procedure is preferable to the intensive, and some wherein the reverse preference would obtain. If we anticipate that relevant and sufficiently valid information can be obtained by schedule methods, this is clearly more economical than the use of interview or projective methods. If we anticipate that differences between means will be small, then we must either reduce our error term (if we know how) or else use a large sample. If we are interested in a problem wherein it does not appear that sufficiently valid information can be obtained by the schedule, or in a problem in which the relevant dimensions have not been identified, then we may be compelled to use more expensive techniques. Currently I am working with detailed, intensive, and intimate data from a small sample of subjects. And when I publish

² "Courtship in College Women," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (1949), p. 272.

on this study, I shall stand by to await the criticism for working with so few subjects.

ROBERT F. WINCH

Northwestern University

COMMENT ON SJOBERG'S ARTICLE ON THE RIGIDITY OF SOCIAL CLASSES

To the Editor:

Thanks to Gideon Sjöberg's article, "Are Social Classes in America Becoming More Rigid?" a note of restraint is introduced into the interpretation of this much discussed subject. Warner, Hollingshead, and others have created vivid pictures of a class system that is woven into the fabric of life of the American community and that in ways both open and sinister controls the destiny of the people. Their picture is undoubtedly true in some respects but on the whole does not square with common experience.

In addition to the points which Sjöberg makes in emphasizing the fluid nature of the American social scene, one other point should be mentioned. People may be ranked and classified by objective criteria, but these classes have no significance unless there is a consensus which attaches meanings, privileges, rights, and prohibitions to the objective characteristics. For social class to be meaningful it must be recognizable by many individuals, not just by sociologists. If a review of a large number of individual cases indicated extensive lack of a consciousness of class, even the existence of outward differences, such as, income, dress, housing, etc., would be stripped of much of their significance. In short, social class is not just a matter of demography; it is also and primarily a matter of social psychology. On the basis of case studies of college students I propose the following thesis: that social class is so vague in the minds of most Americans that the significance of the objective criteria of class is actually reduced.

ALVIN H. SCAFF

Pomona College

REJOINDER TO BURGESS AND LOCKE

To the Editor:

In commenting in the December issue on my article, "Dating Theories and Student Responses," Professors Burgess and Locke take issue with my presentation in that (1) use of the term dating in place of courtship precludes recognition of stages in the process of premarital sex association and (2) the data used are not related to these stages.

Their first objection seems neither logical nor consistent. They and others use courtship to comprehend the process of premarital sex asso-

ciation and divide it into stages. Why cannot dating be employed in the same sense? The stages into which it or courtship is divided have no bearing on which word is preferable. In the article I not only implied such stages, I specifically stated that *one* use of the word dating is to denote the initial phase of paired sex association. In any case the objection is verbal and not of primary importance.

Their second contention misses one of the main points of the article; namely, that the reasons students give do not support Waller's interpretation of dating as a competitive, rating process. In truth student reasons are far from what his theory presupposes, though logically the sample is just the sort that fits his conception of those who date. In line with his theory Professors Burgess and Locke suggest "that couples who are going steady or who are engaged will give 'affection' or 'selecting a mate' as their reasons while those who are 'playing the field' will answer 'fun,' 'to get to social affairs,' and 'prestige.'"

This exact distinction could not be applied to the data I have from high schools. However, a classification could be made of (1) those who have gone steady and (2) those who have never gone steady. Analysis on this basis does not support the Burgess-Locke surmise. Those who have gone steady do give larger place to romantic reasons than do those who lack such experience, 43.9 vs. 37.0 per cent for boys. (Boys only are mentioned for brevity; girls show similar relationships.) On the other hand, the difference between the two is explained almost completely by the greater interest in educational reasons of those who have not gone steady, the figures being, to use the same order, 26.1 vs. 32.8 per cent. The two groups give practically the same emphasis to miscellaneous reasons, 30.0 vs. 30.2 per cent. Such evidence gives almost startling support to an educational interpretation of dating instead of a competitive, rating view.

Three possibilities come to mind that might explain the results without rejecting Waller's ideas. First, classification on the basis of present status as to going steady might give different results. That a relatively minor modification in classification would reverse the findings seems remote. Second, the sample may be exceptional. While representativeness of the American population is not claimed, the fact that representative returns from four groups in distinct communities are quite similar, gives assurance that the sample is at least not extreme. How much groups vary in dating habits or in reasons for dating is not known; research on the subject would be of distinct value. Third, it is possible that Waller's theory applies to college students,

particularly to those of a sophisticated order. It is noteworthy, however, that so far as I am aware neither Waller nor any of his supporters have gathered evidence from a representative sample of any group. Their evidence is largely personal interpretation from observation and the study of individual cases. The chance of error and distorted perspective in such methods is obvious.

SAMUEL HARMAN LOWRIE

Bowling Green State University

COMMENT ON LOWRIE'S REJOINDER

To the Editor:

Lowrie's note emphasizes the values which emerge out of discussion among social scientists. He has clarified the difference between a defini-

tion of a term, such as courtship, in popular usage and in scientific writings. In the latter case he specifically divides the larger process into stages for investigation and analysis.

Lowrie probably feels that it is unfortunate that he was unable to make a more definite division of the courtship process than "those who have gone steady" and "those who have not gone steady." In future studies he undoubtedly, like any competent scientist, will take advantage of "what I wish I had done in the present study." It is hoped that he and others will continue the study of the behavior of those who are at various stages of the courtship process.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

HARVEY J. LOCKE

University of Chicago and

University of Southern California

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS



FINANCIAL REPORT FROM EXECUTIVE OFFICE

Table 1 summarizes the expenditures for the past year, comparing them with the authorized budget for that year, and indicating the extent to which the various activities of the Society were self-supporting (through subscriptions, advertising, etc.) or were supported from the Carnegie grant, from reserve, or from dues. This statement, which adjusts the cash figures as shown by the audit¹ in order to fit the current year more exactly, indicates a total income of \$47,779 (including \$3,000 allocated from the grant and \$1,250 allocated from the Society's reserves) and a net of \$2,254.

¹ As published in *American Sociological Review*, 17 (April 1952).

Table 2 shows the budget under which the Society is at present operating. This budget is designed to take care of the staggering increases in printing costs which are some 20 per cent higher than they were a year ago. It assumes a continued expansion in membership and in the circulation of the *Review*; includes publication of the *Employment Bulletin*, and a special *Bulletin* on professional matters. It defers until 1953 the publication of a revised *Directory of Members*. The plan involves use of an additional \$1,000 from the Carnegie grant. This budget will be reviewed in the middle of the year by the Council.

Respectfully submitted,
MATILDA WHITE RILEY
Executive Officer

TABLE 1. FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1951
(Estimated January 1952)

	Budget Total	Total Actual	Unexpended Fund	INCOME ALLOCATIONS:			
				Dues	Grant	Reserve	All other (subscrip. ads., etc.)
EXPENDITURES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
I. PUBLICATIONS							
Review	\$24,459	\$25,296	\$ (-837)	\$11,560	\$ 700	\$1,250	\$11,786
Emp. Bulletin	1,000	1,000	—	845			155
Directory	431	431	—	322			109
Index to Review	2,960	2,877	83	(+94)			2,971
Bulletin	1,044	1,042	2	919			123
Misc.	245	245	—	245			
TOTAL	30,139	30,891	(-752)	13,797	700	1,250	15,144
II. ANNUAL MEETING	1,780	2,820	(-1,040)	628			2,192
III. OFFICE (excl. amt. included under I)	10,878	10,455	423	8,155	2,300		
IV. COMMITTEES	975	926	49	926			
V. MISCELLANEOUS	522	433	89	69			364
TOTAL	\$44,294	\$45,525	\$(-1,231)	\$23,575	\$3,000	\$1,250	\$17,700
TOTAL INCOME	\$44,734	\$47,779		\$25,829	\$3,000	\$1,250	\$17,700
NET	\$ 440	\$ 2,254		\$ 2,254	\$ —	\$ —	\$ —

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

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TABLE 2. BUDGET FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1952
(Estimated March, 1952)

	Budget Requiring Authoriza- tion	Details of Publication Budget	INCOME ALLOCATIONS:			
			Dues	Grant	Reserve	All other (subscr., ads., etc.)
EXPENDITURES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
I. PUBLICATIONS						
Review		\$27,895	\$15,434			\$12,461
Emp. Bulletin		1,000	845			155
Directory		—				—
Bulletin		744	694			50
Index to Review		600	(+350)			950
Misc.		—				—
TOTAL	\$30,239		\$16,623			\$13,616
II. ANNUAL MEETING	2,550		358			2,192
III. OFFICE (excl. amt. included under I)	10,500		9,500	1,000		
IV. COMMITTEES	1,725		1,725			
V. MISCELLANEOUS	586		222			364
TOTAL	\$45,600		\$28,428	\$1,000	\$ —	\$16,172
TOTAL INCOME	\$46,301		\$29,129	\$1,000	\$ —	\$16,172
NET	\$ 701		\$ 701	\$ —	\$	\$ —

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



The Institut fuer Sozialforschung was formally reopened at the University of Frankfurt on November 14, 1951, after an absence of nearly nineteen years enforced by the Nazi regime. Its director is Max Horkheimer, Professor of Philosophy and Sociology (and currently Rector) at the University, who has held the post of director of the Institut continuously since 1939, from 1934 to 1949 in the United States.

Reestablishment of the Institut in Frankfurt, as an autonomous body affiliated with the University, was made possible through the international cooperation of many scholars and public figures. The international aspect was stressed at the dedication ceremony; participants included representatives of the Institut, the University, the American High Commission, and the German government. Professor René König of the University of Zurich spoke for the International Sociological Association, and Professors Leopold von Wiese and Milton Mayer for German and American scholarship, respectively. Funds for the new building were made available by the American High Commission, the city of Frankfurt, the government of Hesse, and private sources.

The Institut's program, Professor Horkheimer reported, will continue to be built on the integration of philosophy with sociology, economics, and psychology, and on combining the emphasis on theory that characterizes the German tradition with the rigorous empirical methods that have been the specific American contribution to sociology. Major research projects at present center on the intellectual and emotional effects of the Nazi period on Germany, German attitudes toward America, and a comparative analysis of the impact of foreign propaganda on post-war Germany. In these projects a newly developed method of recorded panel discussions with selected samples of the German population is being applied.

The American Catholic Sociological Society held its thirteenth annual convention at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., December 28-30, 1951. Papers were presented in the sociology of the family, industry, intergroup relations, the parish, and the world community, and special sessions were devoted to the teaching of sociology in colleges, high schools, and seminaries. The presidential address of the Reverend Thomas J. Harte, C.Ss.R. reported a survey of the research and teaching roles of members of the society. Officers elected for 1952 were John J. Kane, University of Notre Dame, president; the Reverend Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Fordham University, first vice-president; Sister Mary Gabriel, G.N.S.H., D'Youville College, second vice-president; and the

Reverend Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., Loyola University, Chicago, executive secretary.

U. S. Department of State. The External Research Staff of the Department of State presently is developing a consolidated catalog of non-government research-in-progress in the social sciences on foreign areas and international problems (excluding U. S. foreign policy and relations with other countries). For consultation on matters pertaining to research on U. S. foreign policy and international relations, please refer to the Division of Historical Policy Research, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State. The catalog is designed to fill a vacuum among research tools that presently do not include broad coverage of research-in-progress.

This catalog is designed to provide a comprehensive guide to research that is not systematically catalogued anywhere else in the country. It includes both (a) research that is in progress, and (b) research that has been completed but not published (and, thus not listed in full in standard references). An estimated 85 per cent of the formally recognized research-in-progress in U. S. universities is not reflected in any published lists.

The catalog has been developed from lists published in the various professional journals, by contributions from individuals and groups who recognize the value of having their research reflected in the catalog, and from the hundreds of personal contacts annually between members of the External Research Staff and scholars who seek the Staff's services in the planning, development and production of research projects in the social sciences on foreign areas. The catalog is, primarily, a catalog of research of university faculties and graduate students.

Arrangement provides that each item is catalogued in four different files: (a) by institution, (b) by author, (c) by geographic area, and (d) by subject matter. Thus, identification of an individual project may be made from a variety of approaches.

Information in the catalog is available to any scholar who can benefit from it. Information may be obtained by direct personal reference to the catalog maintained in the offices of the Staff, or by asking the Staff to prepare a list of projects related to a given subject.

All scholars, including graduate students, are invited by the Staff to contribute to the catalog, and are invited to benefit by the information contained in it. You can receive a list on any given subject by writing to the Chief, External Research Staff, Room 602, State Annex No. 1, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

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1. Author's name, title, department, university (or other personal address).
2. Title of project.
3. Nature of project (book, article, dissertation, etc., and a comment on any arrangements for publication).
4. Present stage of progress, and estimated time of completion.
5. Brief general description of the project and of the nature of principal source materials.
6. Comment on grant or other source of support for the research.
7. Date of the above information.

University of Bridgeport. Dr. Joseph S. Roucek served as Visiting Professor at the University of British Columbia during the summer of 1951, and will serve in a similar capacity at the University of Puerto Rico during the summer of 1952.

Dr. Abraham E. Knepler, Assistant Professor of Sociology, was director of the University of Bridgeport's Summer Workshop in Intergroup Relations in 1951 and will again direct the workshop in 1952. The workshop will be conducted jointly with the University's College of Education, and will run in 1952 from June 30 to July 26. Dr. Knepler has been serving also since 1951 as consultant in community relations for the Bridgeport Jewish Community Council. He was recently named 1952 Connecticut Chairman of the Tri-State Council on Family Relations.

Dr. Stanley H. Chapman has been serving as lecturer in sociology during the 1951-52 academic year and as adviser to the University's Sociology Colloquium.

The Sociology department is offering a special training course in applied Sociology, Psychology, and Criminal Law for the Bridgeport Police Department in which all of the faculty of the sociology department are participating.

University of Buffalo. Professor Alvin W. Gouldner, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, is on a one year leave of absence while acting as a consultant to The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Professor Gouldner has also been granted an S.S.R.C. fellowship for the summer months, which will be spent at Dartmouth College. The fellowship is for participation in a seminar discussion with other specialists dealing with "Leadership and Group Behavior."

University of California, Los Angeles. Leonard Broom, Associate Professor, taught in the Summer Session, 1951, at the University of British Columbia. Edwin M. Lemert, Associate Professor, spent the fall semester on sabbatical leave studying alcoholism among the Indians of British Columbia. Philip Selznick, Assistant Professor, who was on

leave for the year 1950-51 with Rand Corporation, has returned to regular teaching and research for 1951-52. Ralph H. Turner, Assistant Professor, was director of the interdepartmental Youth and Marriage Institute, offered by the University in the fall, 1951. Donald R. Cressey, Assistant Professor, spent the summer of 1951 at Terre Haute Federal prison continuing his research on embezzlement. Ruth Riemer, a new addition to the faculty, is specializing in population and quantitative method.

Scott Greer, who is completing his Ph.D. work, assumed teaching duties at Santa Barbara College (University of California) during the fall semester. Three graduate students are recipients of outside fellowships. Wendell Bell received a S.S.R.C. Research Training Fellowship, and is engaged in a comparative study of urban typologies. John Isuro Kitsuse received a John Hay Whitney Opportunity Fellowship and Hiroshi Ito received the Sigmund Livingston Memorial Fellowship.

Cornell University. The Cornell Social Science Research Center is sponsoring a Field Methods Training Program under a Ford Foundation grant intended to increase research capacity in the behavioral sciences. This program, which began in September 1951, is set up on a two year basis. Its goal is the establishment of a new type of training course in interviewing and observation for graduate students in social science disciplines. Dr. U. Bronfenbrenner, Department of Child Development and Family Relationships; Dr. J. Dean, Department of Sociology and Anthropology; and Dr. W. F. Whyte, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations form the advisory committee and S. A. Richardson is the project director. The training course will be conducted on an experimental basis for the academic year 1952-53. Persons who may be interested in participating in the course should communicate with S. A. Richardson.

Two fellowships in family life education of \$2,500, given by the Grant Foundation of New York City, are available at Cornell University. The fellowships also include free tuition toward the Ph.D. degree.

Applicants must be men, preferably married, with a master's degree in psychology, sociology, or a related field, who show promise in family life education. Those who wish to apply should write to the Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Florida State University. Lewis M. Killian has joined the staff as Associate Professor of Sociology, effective September 1, 1952. Dr. Killian, formerly at the University of Oklahoma, has been engaged as chief analyst for the Disaster Studies Project of the Institute of Community Development.

Howard University. Professor E. Franklin Frazier, Head of the Department of Sociology, has been granted a leave of absence for a period of two years to serve as Chief of the Division of Applied Social Sciences of the United Nations Educational,

Scientific, and Cultural Organization, with headquarters in Paris, France. Associate Professor Harry J. Walker is serving as acting head of the Department during the absence of Professor Frazier. Wallace W. Culver, who received the doctoral degree from Pennsylvania State College during the Summer Session, 1951, joined the staff of the Department with the rank of Assistant Professor in January.

Marshall College. Dr. Reuben Hill, Professor of Sociology and Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina, will conduct a two-day workshop at Marshall College on June 23-24. The workshop will have for its subject the social, economic, physical and moral problems of the modern family.

The program is being sponsored by the Department of Sociology at Marshall College, and will be under the immediate direction of Dr. Harold M. Hayward. The type of material to be covered in the two-day session will be of interest to teachers, ministers, social workers, public health personnel, P.T.A. officials and similar groups.

Dr. J. T. Richardson, of the Department of Sociology, has been appointed chairman of a survey committee to make a study of the problems peculiar to West Virginia's aging population. The project is being undertaken at the request of Governor Okey L. Patteson and will include such problems as unemployment, adequacy of present retirement plans, health, financial, social, and recreational aspects of the state's older citizens. After the survey has been completed, a final report will be prepared for Governor Patterson and this will be sent to the West Virginia Legislature, with the Chief Executive's recommendations.

Alpha Kappa Delta gave an interdepartmental dinner at the Frederick Hotel on December 6, 1951. At that time the Department of Sociology had as its guests the Chairmen of the Departments of Economics, Political Science, History, Psychology, Philosophy and Geography. The program was designed to bring out the working relationships be-

tween Sociology and the other departments represented. Twenty-five members of Alpha Kappa Delta and their guests attended the dinner.

University of Mississippi. Dr. William G. Haag, Associate Professor of Anthropology, is on leave during the second semester visiting Louisiana State University.

Mr. Robert L. Rands, who recently completed his doctoral work at Columbia University, is Acting Assistant Professor of Anthropology. He and Mrs. Rands are continuing work on the archaeological materials from their expedition at the Maya site at Palenque.

Ohio State University. Dr. C. T. Jonassen has been appointed director and chief investigator for a research project concerned with urban-decentralization, sponsored by the National Research Council.

Dr. Merton D. Oyler has been appointed book review editor of *Marriage and Family Living*, the quarterly publication of the National Council on Family Relations.

Dr. John W. Bennett is the director of a project supported by the Office of Naval Research, which will analyze the materials collected during his stay in Japan with the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division of SCAP. These materials are derived from research on social relationships and cultural patterns in various segments of Japanese economic and social institutions. Mr. Iwao Ishino, of the Harvard Department of Social Relations, is Research Associate. Mr. Michio Nagai of Kyoto University is assisting in analysis.

Pennsylvania College for Women. Dr. L. Saxon Graham, who recently received his doctor's degree from Yale University, joined the Department of Sociology at Pennsylvania College for Women in September, 1951. Dr. Graham teaches courses in Anthropology and Industrial Society as well as sections in Modern Society and Elementary Sociology.

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BOOK REVIEWS



The Claims of Sociology: A Critique of Text-books: A Critique, also, of Teaching and Teaching Methods. By A. H. HOBBS, with a preface by JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1951. iv, 185 pp. \$2.75.

This book reminds one of the 1933 attack on criminology by Michael and Adler. It is not as sophisticated but it is just as sophisticated. While M & A proceeded largely by deductive, Aristotelian logic and neo-Thomasic absolutes, Hobbs uses what appears at first glance to be inductive research. However, he seems to think "scientific" means completely, finally, absolutely and universally "true."

Eighty-three nonsectarian texts (since 1926) were studied intensively: 33 introductory, 28 social problems, 22 family. "The analysis is limited to those topics . . . presented for the purpose of influencing the personal behavior of the reader, the reader's personal attitude toward his behavior or attitude in relation to actual social conditions" (p. 4). Since all definitions and conceptualizations are excluded, the "claims of sociology," or "sociological emphasis," or "sociological point of view" is, or are, distorted. He has thus ignored most of what most people would call sociology. There is further distortion by including "family" and "problems" in the study since these are two of the most "unscientific" fields in sociology. They are essentially normative and "practical" by intent.

His method was to excerpt 15 pages of single-spaced typing from each text. This made over 1000 single-spaced pages and about 4000 quotations. These are the "data." They were selected, classified, and analyzed according to an outline which makes up nine of the twelve chapters: Personality, Education, Economics, Government, Family (nine sub-heads), Social Controls, Social Disorganization, War, and Social Change. The last chapter is "The Role of Sociology in Education."

He rightly condemns sociologists for accepting as scientific fact the observations of a single visitor to a primitive tribe. However, I would rather have the report of such a well-trained observer than I would the results of the method used by Hobbs. How much agreement would there be between Hobbs' impressive percentages and those of another man selecting and classifying

4000 "excerpts" from 83 texts? So we have the spurious impressiveness of large numbers of dubious data reduced to exact percentages. We also have trends, and interpretations, derived from this selective and highly subjective mass of material.

"Authors apply rigid critical standards to evidence which conflicts with the impressions they attempt to foster, but accept almost any evidence which supports the view they favor" (p. 5). Since Hobbs is trying to prove that textbook authors are biased and unscientific (p. 9) and are endeavoring to propagandize the minds of their students in the direction of the authors' predilections, he should have applied very rigorous standards to his own research, both as to the collection and processing of the data and the cool, impersonal objectivity of the interpretations. Instead, we find that his studies "raise [for him] serious doubt that the authors attempt to present an objective, balanced, and representative description of civilized society or of the behavior of the majority of people in such societies" (p. 22). In short, the authors are both incompetent and crooked. Again, "The authors select an incidental item which fits their preconceptions, distort the context of the source, and reverse the impressions which the investigator attempted to convey" (p. 51). Dirty pool!

Citing other introductory texts is presented as evidence of unscientific procedure. The elementary chemistry text at Miami has no suggested readings except in other elementary texts. Hobbs also complains of much "back-scratching," females citing females (no data), and authors citing themselves. I examined two standard texts in cytology and one in physiology which cite the authors 18, 20, and 58 times. If a man is an authority in a field, it is perhaps permissible though possibly immodest for him to mention his own work.

Space prevents full use of my eight pages of closely written (in Binal sthnd) notes, "excerpts," and comments, but I must mention the intensive analysis of the treatment of personality by Ogburn and Nimkoff. Hobbs makes it clear this book was chosen for analysis not because it is the worst but because it is typical and the most widely used. It is accused of employing a pattern of selective distortion (p. 34) to prove Environment is more important than Heredity and of holding that psychoanalytic in-

terpretations of personality formation and functioning are sound. He says the logical outcome of their treatment of personality is a society like *Brave New World* or *Nineteen Eighty-four*.

Some texts present personality properly, or reasonably so, but they are not named. We are told only that O & N are terrible—and typical. The last four sentences in Hobb's book are rules for the guidance of textbook writers. They are sound principles but I think their spirit is better approximated by most textbook writers than by Hobb himself.

His general technique is to set up straw-men. At the end of each chapter are questions and discussions which imply that most "textbook sociologists" answer them, directly or by "emphasis," so that they are self-convicted fools, crooks, or both.

The treatment of the family is perhaps more descriptive of his findings and less animadversive than is the case with the other chapters, but he holds that "the sociological point of view minimizes responsibilities to spouse, to children, to parents, and to society, while expounding on expanding privileges associated with marriage" (p. 103). The only writer on the family who is mentioned with approval is Zimmerman. "To an appreciable degree the popularity of courses in marriage and the family appears to rest upon a presentation which confers hypostatized 'rights' upon students, provides them with vicarious sexual titillation, and fosters a pleasant and easily absorbed perspective in which they are given authoritarian justification for escaping responsibilities" (p. 114). His discussion is a complete distortion and caricature of the way I have tried to teach the family course for the last twenty-five years. I expect I am not the only family teacher who will feel that Hobb has raised hob with us quite unjustly.

While he accuses the "textbook sociologists" of falsifying the data by selection and emphasis to support their "predilections" and asserts that he holds no brief for any point of view except scientific skepticism (pp. 9, 11, 12, and *passim*), I am forced to conclude that he himself has some strong "predilections" which he tends to support by the same methods of "emphasis," insinuation, subtle special pleading, and covert name-calling which he finds so prevalent in the "textbook sociologists"—which has become an epithet by now. Among these are a brief for eugenics and biological (hereditary) explanations of social phenomena, big families, divorce as evidence of family institutional disorganization, sex education may do more harm than good, and war is inevitable and occurs because people like it. He seems to favor the *status quo* and absolute systems of morals; opposes adverse criticism of customs and traditions, especially economic;

thinks "good" and "bad" must be absolutely so; believes it is folly to plan unless you have perfect scientific prevision; no change should be attempted if people are better off than they used to be (p. 81).

Of course, he does not specifically advocate these things but he seems to support them by "Hobbsonian emphasis," i.e., I deduce this conclusion as he deduces the "predilections of sociologists"—and doubtless I do him as great injustice as he does them. These attitudes are implicit in the three pages of summary which conclude. "These devious and subtle techniques give the textbooks an appearance of objectivity, fairness, and scientific validity which they do not actually possess" (p. 171). "Severe criticism appears justified because textbook authors continue to mock the fundamental rules of scientific presentation and persist in flaunting their 'objectivity' as a protective banner under which they parade their prejudice" (p. 176). You see it is deliberate, studied, and vicious—a plot, a plot!

This somewhat negative review should not lead the reader to believe the reviewer believes none of Hobb's negative criticisms have merit. On the contrary. I am for making sociology as scientific as possible as quickly as possible but I am sure the most needed criticisms of introductory sociology do not require one to question the good faith, competence, and integrity of the authors. I do not think there is any plot. Hobb would have written a more useful, and a much needed, book if he had attacked the textbooks in a more vulnerable spot—conceptualization—and had pursued his criticism in a more judicial and impersonal manner. Still, in spite of the somewhat too perfervid tone of the book, some serious questions are raised to which textbook authors may well give serious attention.

READ BAIN

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Behavior Pathology. By NORMAN CAMERON, M.D., PH.D., and ANN MAGARET, PH.D., New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951, xvi, 645 pp. \$5.00.

This book should give new stature to American psychiatry. The work is no clarion call for the faithful to rally around a new psychiatric ideology with its therapeutic trappings—something quite common in these hectic days—but rather is a sober, systematic, empirically grounded, and logically ordered scientific treatise on the development of those behavior forms which are regarded in our society as pathological. As such it is both a textbook in psychiatry and abnormal psychology and a contribution to scientific knowledge in the area

of mental health and disease. As a text for psychiatric trainees, it eschews the old medical formula of classification, symptomatology, differential diagnosis, etiology, and therapy. Instead, it offers a dynamic developmental account of the biological organism constantly and always interacting within a complex social field, learning those techniques of adjustment which may both aid and hinder him in achieving biosocial maturity, or acquiring those reactions and behavior patterns appropriate and adequate for persons of his age, sex, and status. It is a scientific contribution in that its formulations and theoretical structure are always supported by the best empirical work available in clinical, general and social psychology, and psychiatry; its central concepts are precisely defined and logically consistent; the essential principles of social learning are abstracted in order to analyze the phenomena in question; and consistent evaluation is made in each chapter of what we know and do not know.

As stated earlier, this work should give new stature to American psychiatry. But it seems to this reviewer that the conceptual framework represented here is not too widely accepted in psychiatry, and it will probably take another two decades for this work to receive the recognition that it justly deserves. This seems likely in spite of the optimism which the authors themselves display as to the observable trends—growing interest in symptom genesis and in therapy seen as a process of maturation and learning (p. xv). The social psychological climate surrounding American psychiatry must change considerably before this work comes into its own. When it does, it should take its place in American psychiatry beside the contributions of Adolph Meyer and Harry Stack Sullivan.

The general viewpoint in this work emphasizes the principle of continuity—often given lip service by psychiatrists but still not completely an integral part of psychiatry—"that pathological behavior is related to and derived from normal behavior, and that therapy is dependent upon this relationship" (p. xv). The entire presentation is based squarely upon social learning which begins at birth and molds the human biological organism into the biosocial mature adult. Conversely, "Behavior disorder is the end-result of progressively inappropriate and unrewarding social learning" (p. 10), and behavior pathology is "the study of those forms of human behavior which render the individual persistently tense dissatisfied incompetent or ineffectual" (p. 4). Whether the pathology manifests itself under the current diagnostic labels of feeble-mindedness, psychopathic personality, schizophrenia, anxiety, par-

anoia, or personality deterioration, all of these results must be seen as learned reactions evolving from a complex interpersonal field to which individuals with differing biological equipment are constantly subjected from birth to death. Inasmuch as social learning is the central fact of human existence the question as to "why some persons acquire behavior pathology while others, under comparable environmental conditions, seem relatively immune to it" (p. 9) becomes the central problem in this area.

The beginning chapters (1-5) take up need, frustration, learning (social and selective), language behavior, role playing, emotional reactions, biological maturation, and fixation. These chapters represent one of the most complete, sound and systematic analyses of these central ideas currently available, and they could well be recommended as required reading for all students in social psychology despite the somewhat advanced level of their substance. The middle chapters (6-17) take up acquired reactions constituting biosocial immaturity and covering what are conventionally regarded as feeble-mindedness, character disorders, neuroses and the functional psychoses. The final two chapters elaborate on the types of therapy essential for relearning and bringing the person back to an acceptable level of maturity, and on the manner in which learning and therapy may be interwoven.

In discussing therapy, the emphasis is placed primarily upon the potentialities of learning in the patient-therapist relationship or in some structured social situation (group therapy, psychodrama). While the various shock treatments used widely in psychiatric practice are singled out as examples of the oldest forms of therapy, in the authors' perspective they are viewed as aids toward bringing the patient up to a level where relearning or new learning is possible.

While this work is not a new edition of Dr. Cameron's earlier work, *Psychology of Behavior Disorders* (1949), it covers much of the same ground, but does so more intensively and extensively. The material here represents a systematic development of Dr. Cameron's ideas, as attested not only by the earlier work, but also by his many previously published articles. His basic ideas are grounded in G. H. Mead's theory of the social self, and this work will stand as a monument to the fruitfulness of Mead's ideas in illuminating the nature of the pathological self.

The solid merit of this work is so obvious on almost every page that any criticism is likely to be of a very general character. However, at the risk of being considered picayunish, I might point out that the value implications

in this work are nowhere clearly made explicit. If the price of socialization is social conformity (p. 478), what is the nature of normal non-conformity in contrast to abnormal non-conformity? In other words, within the range of acceptable social conformity, how does one distinguish between abnormal learned reaction rooted in the lack of capacity or acquired inability to take roles, and the rational basis for taking unpopular (non-conforming) roles in order to achieve ends viewed as desirable within a given societal context. True, Cameron and Magaret carefully make the key distinction between normal and abnormal anxiety, and true also that they constantly refer to the necessity of viewing behavior in terms of cultural norms, they nevertheless do not seem to show an adequate appreciation of the subtle value differences which frequently differentiate persons in the different societal segments in our own culture. One is reminded here of Sutherland's theory of criminology, also grounded in the psychology of learning, in which the anti-social types emerge as fairly normal psychologically organized persons functioning at the level of competence acceptable in their social circles.

Then, too, the striving for adult independence-biosocial maturity implies a value which perhaps reaches its highest peak in American culture. Another culture might conceivably train some of its members for a dependent status, and they might then manifest, as adults, some of the symptoms which Cameron and Magaret regard as biosocial immaturity. Would this be behavior pathology? Obviously not, even as these investigators have expressed themselves, but the point cannot be overlooked that these psychiatric formulations, like many current social science formulations, gain their most significant sense in the value context of our own middle-class culture. What we need is further work to make clear their possibility for being considered as universals. This work, however, is an essential step towards a more universal psychiatry and social psychology, and this, with respect to the possibility of a mature social science, is the most important point.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

English Life and Leisure. By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE and G. R. LAVERS. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1951. xvi, 482 pp. \$4.00.

England, long the country of first-rate social surveys, has added still another to its imposing list. *English Life and Leisure* is an attempt to give a living picture of contemporary England

at the midpoint of the twentieth century. This is done by showing how the mass of the people spend their leisure hours, amuse themselves, recreate themselves—alas, too rarely—or indulge in the major activity of our age—spectatoritis. This activity, if we may so call it, has taken many forms such as gambling, horse and dog-racing (it is no small matter to walk from your seat to the betting windows), filling in football coupons, drinking in pubs and bars, picking up girls, queuing up for the movies or the theatre, listening to the radio, and dancing at the local and glamorous palais de danse. Television is not yet the opium of the masses as it is in this country. More sedate and subdued activities are buying newspapers, taking books out of the library, or going to church.

In reality, these are some of the ways of killing time—of overcoming the tedium vitae, of escaping from fear and anxieties, and compensating for the austerities and frustrations of life. Did not Pascal say that all our evils arise from man's restlessness and inability to sit still in his room? All these ways are carefully catalogued and analyzed by the authors. In addition, there are chapters on how the peoples of Scandinavia spend their leisure time with suggestions about features which the English people might very well borrow. Mr. Rowntree had been to Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden. A major portion of the book—the most fascinating and rewarding—consists of 200 case studies of persons over twenty years old, their leisure habits and philosophies, and of similar cases of persons under the age of twenty. These cases are themselves selections from a pool of 975 case histories gathered together by a method of indirect interviewing. Furthermore, the authors undertook special inquiries in order to answer particular questions such as the time required to fill in football coupons. (More than 11,000,000 people participate in football pools every week.) Finally, a specimen town not far from London was selected for a detailed study.

As in all English social surveys, the present authors do not merely make a comprehensive examination of the extent of the problem. They not only calculate the time and money Englishmen spend in gambling and drinking. They are equally intent on reforming the situation and making practical proposals for its betterment. They write, "The only practical action for society is to take more active steps to encourage people to spend their leisure rationally and enjoyably and to provide the means for them to do so." Specifically, they would impose a tax on the winnings in betting. While they agree a betting tax will not solve the problem, it might be very helpful. Actually, they object to gambling and they base their objections on two

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grounds. First, it is a formidable enemy of "reason" on which civilization is based and unduly emphasizes reliance on chance and luck. Second, and allied to the latter, it is unethical for it enables one to obtain property without effort. The authors do not examine the numerous factors in the present economic system that generate such attitudes. They suggest that the liquor trade should not be run by private individuals for profit, that there should be more municipally owned and operated amusement parks and holiday camps, more open-air entertainments, and that recreation as far as possible should be decommercialized.

It may be questioned whether these changes would in themselves suffice to bring about higher morality without making necessary changes in other values held by the people. Although the authors recognize the declining role of religion in modern society, they nevertheless believe that moral decline is due to the loss of faith. They look forward to a spiritual rebirth, a new evangelism that would purify the country. This hope they offer, but with little factual material to justify it. They look with approval on such movements as "Christian Commando Campaigns," and apparently expect a great deal of social change to issue from moralizing.

The senior author of this study requires no introduction to American sociologists. Some thirty years ago Mr. Rowntree came out with his famous survey of York, wherein he established the standards for judging what he called "primary poverty." Since then many sociologists and economists have used that concept as a datum-line by which to compare the incidence of poverty at different times and places. Mr. Lavers has been a frequent collaborator with Mr. Rowntree in his subsequent works. In a sense Mr. Rowntree has returned to his early study, though instead of looking for the causes and remedies of "primary poverty," he has centered his attention on another kind of poverty—the poverty of a mass society's ability to utilize its leisure time.

JAY RUMNEY

Rutgers University

The Modern Family. By ROBERT F. WINCH. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952. xxi, 522 pp. \$3.90.

Another good book has been added to the literature concerning the family. It is a textbook for the sociology of the family course as compared with the preparation for marriage course. Professor Winch has drawn richly from sociology, social psychology, psychoanalysis, and cultural anthropology in constructing a book

which is a readable, although brief, text, and yet one containing original insights for the delectation of fellow sociologists.

The framework of the book is a trifle complicated and the reader almost suspects two skeletons in a single body. Following an introduction with definitions, cultural sketches and designation of the modern urban, middle class family as the point of emphasis, the first skeleton is revealed. It proves to be the familiar functional approach with the revised categories of economic, status conferring, reproductive, socialization and security functions.

The second skeleton is unveiled in Part III of the book, and it proves to be the family life-cycle approach with two phases. The first phase covers experience from parenthood to contact with adult children. The second phase picks up family experience in the second generation and follows it through love, sex, courtship, and marriage with a final commentary on family organization and disorganization.

Anybody seeking to write about family experience is bedeviled by structure problems since the family of orientation from another viewpoint is a family of procreation. It does seem that Winch is forced to tell the reader a good deal about his structure, and that does not help much in keeping skeletons decently concealed in a smoothly flowing body of description. Occasionally there is a bit of repetition which is not dispelled by self-conscious explanatory comment.

Apparent defects depend, of course, upon some frame of reference. The vivid illustration for the student may be obvious to the sociologist, and the penetrating analysis of love as a matter of complementary needs may offend the student who wants complex reality made simple so that he may enjoy enlightenment and receive course credit without undue mental exertion.

From the sociological viewpoint, the most distinctive contribution of the book, namely a theory of love in terms of complementary needs, does not always clearly distinguish between mate attraction and mate satisfaction, between romantic love and companionship love, and between apparent and real need-satisfying qualities in a partner. Furthermore, a need is doubtless relative, hence need-satisfaction and complementary-mutuality would depend on aspiration level. Perhaps Winch also should have warned the reader more fully concerning the tautology danger in motivation theory.

The virtues of the book include up-to-date statistics well focused, useful family status distinctions, recognition of cultural discontinuities, a splendid account of the influence of mass media, and, from his own research, a picture of mother-centered emotional ties. Professor Winch

has written a thoughtful book which is not a rehash of prior textbooks.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

Indiana University

Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology. By RUDOLF HEBERLE. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951. xiii, 478 pp. \$4.00.

The main objective of this welcome volume is to develop "a comparative, systematic theory of social movements within a more comprehensive system of political sociology." This orientation, immediately established by the author, distinguishes this work from the conventional historical studies and philosophical evaluations of such movements as fascism and communism.

The sociological approach to social movements is set forth as being concerned with (1) the nature of the *constitutive* ideas or ideologies accepted by the masses drawn into major social movements; (2) the "socio-psychological texture" of interrelations between members of a social movement, and between a social movement and other "social collectives;" (3) the social foundations of social movements, particularly in social classes; (4) structure; (5) strategy and tactics; and (6) actual as well as intended functions of social movements. Most of the book is devoted to a consideration, in turn, of these six aspects, with three chapters on the "political ecology" of voting behavior inserted between the treatment of the social foundations and of the structure of social movements.

American Sociologists who are looking for a text for courses in social movements will find that this book has much to offer although probably few will regard it as wholly satisfactory. Its merit over such books as those by Davis and Laidler is that it focusses from beginning to end upon sociological theory. It is especially worthy in bringing together many important contributions which European social scientists have made toward the development of a systematic theory of social movements. Of particular value for American university students will be the concise treatment of political processes in several European democracies, particularly in pre-Nazi Germany. This material provides an excellent background for the student who is seeking insight into political processes in the United States and the somewhat different careers which similar social movements tend to take within European and American democratic societies. German Fascism and Soviet Communism provide the main sources of illustrative materials, introduced intermittently in connection with the development of different phases of the theory of social movements.

Heberle rightly does not conceive it as his task to delve into a detailed or integrated treatment of these or of any other particular social movements. However, in repeatedly drawing upon these two for illustrations he has actually succeeded in providing the student with an incisive analysis of two of the major movements of our times.

In one important respect the main title of the book is misleading; the subtitle, "An Introduction to Political Sociology," is actually more appropriate. Taken altogether, perhaps a third or more of the book is actually devoted to the "sociology of political parties," a subject which the author taught at the University of Kiel in the 'twenties, and which apparently is still one of his chief interests. This subject is competently handled. The analysis of the interrelations between certain types of social movements and political parties, particularly in Germany, is in itself a valuable contribution. But many teachers of courses on social movements will feel that several of the sections dealing with political parties and voting behavior are tangential, while many aspects of social movements are left untouched. One looks in vain for a typology of social movements. Reform movements for the most part are ignored or passed over as of minor importance. With interest focussed on "political sociology" it is perhaps understandable that religious movements, diabolical cults, and such phenomena as fashion receive little or no attention. But in a world seething with nativistic movements, cultural survivals, nationalistic and world government movements, it is surprising that the contribution which their analysis might make to the development of a "political sociology" are ignored.

Almost equally surprising is the failure to draw upon the contributions which several American sociologists, such as Park, Edwards, Gettys and Hiller, have made to the theory of social movements. There are references to Blumer and Merton but their major contributions to this field are not incorporated. While Heberle has done a notable job of presenting a synthesis of the work of European and European-trained theorists, the task of integrating this with the work of Americans in this field remains to be done.

CLARENCE E. GLICK

University of Hawaii

The Development of Human Behavior. By RICHARD DEWEY and W. J. HUMBER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. xiv, 762 pp. \$5.50.

Obviously intended for use as a textbook in the introductory social psychology course, this

book by Dewey, a sociologist, and Humber, a psychologist, was originally conceived by the authors at Lawrence College where they combined sociology and psychology courses into a single social psychology course called "The Development of Human Behavior." The length of the text and the range of subject matter suggest that the authors include in the field of social psychology the study of everything that man does on the social level. This all-embracing approach is implicit in their definition of social psychology which states that "the basic datum of social psychology is the social act itself," a view which implies that all behavior, except perhaps for inner reflexive acts, fall within the rubric of social psychology. The pervasiveness of this approach is reflected in their theoretical framework and in the specific materials and problems which are presented.

Their theoretic framework states that "the biological heritage, human nature, or personality and the environment are always present in any action involving man's social experience. These three variables are interactive and a significant change in any one of these . . . is reflected in a significant alteration in the behavior of the individual concerned. These three interactive variables are the determinants of personality." The conceptual frame of reference is presented in the first part of the book (239 pages), and the remaining five parts (about 500 pages) are devoted to an attempt to apply the theoretical concepts developed in the first part in a manner such "that the student will be able to understand the individual's social behavior at different stages of his life, and in the many and varied statuses in which he finds himself, and the ways he plays or fails to play the social roles which are appropriate to these statuses." The conceptual scheme includes such concepts and terms as human nature, biological heritage, environment, personality, social heritage, central nervous system, rural-sacred-urban-secular continuum, communication, conditioning, social role, drives, social status, ego, and attitudes.

The application of the concepts takes the form of presenting materials for analysis and discussion. Whole chapters are devoted to age groups, ranging from infancy to old age, abnormal persons, minority status, physiological-anatomical minorities, cultural minorities, personal-social minorities, criminal behavior, institutional behavior, the school, religion, and the economic system. In addition to these materials, disorganization is considered briefly with reference to such abnormal types of groups as riots, mobs, panics and crowds. There is a concluding chapter which focuses on the question of science and ethics and the good society. The authors

conclude, granted certain criteria, that a good society is one "in which the basic biogenic and sociogenic needs of man are fulfilled."

The format of the book, which is excellent, contains some forty-seven illustrations and fifteen tables. As for the style of writing, it is simple, clear and illuminating. From this point of view, it is the type of book that would appeal to the freshman or sophomore student. Serious students of social psychology, however, will find the lack of integration between sociological, psychological and social anthropological concepts disappointing. The title is somewhat unwarranted, for this work not only represents an unfocused or scattered presentation of the field of social psychology, but there is also no attempt to present a systematic scheme of human development or of the socialization process. Because of its inclusive view, this book is to be categorized with such eclectic approaches as Britt's *Social Psychology of Modern Life*, Vaughan's *Social Psychology*, and in part Kimball Young's *Social Psychology*.

It is regrettable that the authors did not devote more serious thought to such important items as language (no space is given to this), symbolic learning (only conditioning theory is presented), the development of the self (some six pages are allotted to this crucial subject), and types and degrees of interaction. The analysis of role and role behavior seems adequate but is hardly intensive enough for mature evaluation; and it is surprising to find in an approach that presumably centers on interaction only one page devoted to the concept "isolation." Since the authors take as their basic datum the social act, it seems of greatest importance to analyze critically what happens to human behavior when the individual is in a state of isolation or when he is deprived of normal human association.

There is no question about Dewey and Humber's awareness of the importance of these factors. Their fine scholarship and keen insights are apparent throughout the whole book. Hence, one plausible explanation for these omissions seems to be that they were primarily interested in a particular type of organization of concepts and materials, an organization that would enable immature students to cultivate an interest in the development of human behavior and acquire, at the same time, certain elementary skills and understandings. If this is true, they have done well, for despite its eclecticism and its shortcomings, this book represents a lively, interesting and stimulating account of the development of conduct within the social process.

PAUL J. CAMPISI

Washington University

Psychoanalysis, Man, and Society. BY PAUL SCHILDER. New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1951. x, 382 pp. \$4.00.

The volume under review consists of a collection of articles published between 1930 and 1940 in various journals of psychiatry, psychology, and sociology. In his analysis of various psychiatric problems, Dr. Schilder comes back again and again to the relation of the individual to the community and his cultural milieu. This does not mean, however, that Dr. Schilder takes into account the part the social processes play in affecting the individual. For instance, in his chapter, "The Relation between Social and Personal Disorganization," Schilder conceives of disorganized society as resulting from the transmission of distorted attitudes by distorted adults to their children and that "these distorted children in turn will add to the disorganization of the future society." It is Dr. Schilder's conviction that psychoanalysis can achieve "the cure of the individual who has contributed to the disorganization of society."

The pervasive Freudian influence in Dr. Schilder's writings is evident in many of his essays. He had, however, a strong sympathy for the sociological implications of behavioral disorders. His interests were wide and he looked for explanations in still other areas. Writing in the mid-thirties he was impressed by the Semanticists' emphasis on the role of meaning in verbal communication. Thus he states, "From a social point of view, there will be the general task of making individuals understand their words and ideologies and make them recognize where they encroach upon the security of others, thus adding to the general disorganization of society."

The book contains twenty chapters widely varying in subject matter from "Psychoanalysis and Philosophy," "Psychoanalysis of Economics," to "Remarks on the Psychology of War." The chapters dealing with the "Psychogenesis of Alcoholism," "A Study of Criminal Aggressiveness in Men," "Aggressiveness in Women," "The Problem of Crime," "The Cure of Criminals and the Prevention of Crime," and "The Sociological Implications of Neuroses" contain an abundance of illustrative material derived from clinical cases. Sociologists, however, will not find in the theoretical exposition of Dr. Schilder and the methods of his research the type of orientation that could serve as models in their scientific endeavors. It should be borne in mind that these essays were published in the thirties, and since then the literature in the field of psychiatry bordering on sociology and social psychology has had much more to offer.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan: Personality Studies. By ALICE JOSEPH, M.D., and VERONICA F. MURRAY, M.D. With an analysis of the Bender Gestalt Tests by DR. LAURETTA BENDER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951. xi, 381 pp. \$5.00.

In a world of power, the empirical study of various facets of human relation affected by power has yet to develop the same degree of sophisticated research found in many other areas of scientific work. This study is indicative of the instructive, scientific results that can be expected as the newer methods of the social sciences are applied to the phenomenon of power in cross-cultural situation. The methods of clinical psychology and psychiatry are used to discern the personality structures of a people who have been subjected to enforced acculturation and subordination for a period of 250 years.

The two authors spent a period of seven months on an island of the Pacific which has been governed in succession by the Spanish, Germans, Japanese, and Americans. Their project was not a characterological analysis of a culture nor an attempt to derive from childhood experiences the patterns of adult behavior. Instead, they have sought to discover through the employment of a limited series of techniques (Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale, Porteus Maze, Bender Gestalt test, Rorschach, psychiatric survey of cases, physical examinations) the ways in which the individual's life is organized and functions in response to his position in the present world.

From a methodological standpoint the authors conceived of their undertaking as an experiment in which they would ascertain how much data might be gathered in a brief span of time and with the use of a particular group of tests and surveys. Apparently this initial methodological interest has been put aside for another report, for there is no further discussion of the "experiment" beyond the statement of the original intent.

There are three aspects of this research which merit mention. The materials themselves are so presented as to allow the data to be inspected separately from the generalizations offered. It makes possible further work with the findings within alternative frames and hypotheses, and also enables the reader to compare the facts found with the conclusions drawn. This is in contrast to many past studies of distant places unfamiliar to most social scientists in which there has been a fusion of theory and facts and in which the only facts given are those which confirm or illustrate the theory advanced. To be sure, the ease of presenting the findings of a battery of tests

made it feasible in this instance to give the raw data; the psychiatric cases that are cited are not as detached from their theoretical scheme. Still the authors' efforts to provide sufficient details to permit different usages of their empirical findings is a singularly worthwhile achievement.

A second salient feature was the sampling procedure. Past studies of non-Western societies have not been characterized in the main by the systematic sampling of the various strata of the population. The concern for the typical has made for neglect of the varieties of individual adaptations to a common set of norms and to the sub-cultures inherent in most societies. The authors' care in sampling not only secured a representative cross-section of the universe but also gave a more comprehensive coverage of the patterned variations and deviations in relationship to the norms. The division into the two ethnic groups (the Chamorro and Carolinian) and the breakdown by age-grades and other attributes produced sub-samples which opened up significant contrasts which, in turn, suggested additional hypotheses to explain the modal forms of behavior. The only gap in scope of coverage was the omission of a group which, under the circumstances of the study, would have been difficult to include—namely, the superordinates. In this respect the study conforms to traditional research designs which are confined to the subordinate and make possible only oblique observations of the superordinate. Yet the "significant other", as the findings of this research confirm, are the superordinates. Their personality structures remain largely a matter of impressions and speculations even though they are the individuals who are supposed to be influenced in their future actions by the outcome of the study.

The most penetrating aspect of the total study stems from the way in which the results of the tests and surveys are analyzed. Instead of restricting the interpretation to a description of what patterns of behavior are found in a particular cultural setting, the authors have used a dynamic approach to explain the nexus between personality structures and the dominant social systems of Saipan. It is here that the project is so revealing of the impact of power on the individual. The findings of the different tests all point in the same directions. The Islanders, living in a world of power in which they have little power themselves, have developed personality patterns which have become the means for survival in the presence of foreign control over their lives. The children revealed a low level of maturation in comparison with their ages, and both children and adults functioned at a lower level than the ca-

pacities disclosed by the tests. All groups were highly meticulous in their actions, plastic and fluid, and exhibited a deep sense of anxiety and submissiveness. Beside the generalized anxiety, there was an overwhelming personal preoccupation, heavy emphasis on imitative behavior, no long-range life plans, strong but vague aspirations, feelings of inadequacy, and suppressed hostility. The inner life of the individual has not been destroyed but is constantly threatened, and the self-esteem of the person cannot be validated by the superstructure. It is especially worthy of note that the more acculturated Saipanese and those who have advanced to secondary status positions within the foreigner's social systems do not exhibit less but more of these pervasive patterns. Those individuals "who were making the greatest effort to conform to American patterns of behavior and to succeed according to American standards, were suffering from profound emotional disturbances and were nearing the limits of their capacity for normal functioning" (p. 289).

The personality structures reported for Saipan are not unique to that island. They are common to subordinate peoples. The outward compliance to authority with hidden inner resistance form the combination which has given rise to the Western stereotypes about the apathy, child-like nature, irresponsibility, immaturity for self-governing, and other seeming "peculiarities" about subordinate peoples. These misinterpretations have laid the groundwork for the present bewilderment in the Western World with regard to the volatile reactions of non-Western peoples to the further employment of Western power.

The authors close their insightful analysis by suggesting the need for a different kind of policy and administration for Saipan. Whether men of power, given their personality structure, can grasp the basic implications of these findings and, in view of the total power structures of which they are a part, devise new schemes which would offset these results remains an unanswered question.

JOHN USEEM

Michigan State College

Land Planning Law in a Free Society. By CHARLES M. HAAR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951. xiii, 213 pp. \$4.00.

Upon laying down this book many readers are likely to have misgivings about its title, *Land Planning Law in a Free Society*. On the basis of materials gathered in England during 1948, the author, a member of the New York State Bar,

has made a thorough and objective study of the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1947. His findings, reported and analyzed in this monograph, reveal the full reach of the transformation in English land tenure which has transpired since World War II. They show too the inevitability of this transformation, preceded as it was by a long history of previous Town and Country Planning Acts and by the recommendations of several Royal Commissions, and supported as it was, in all essentials, by both of the major political parties in Great Britain. The transformation is, of course, an integral part of the re-institutionalization of economic life which has accompanied Britain's changed place in the world structure of resources and markets. The *laissez-faire* order is gone, in principle as well as in fact, and with it has gone the "fee simple absolute" conception of land tenure. In Haar's words, "Land planning in England today has become not a question of Socialism but of survival" (p. 156). It is a moot point indeed whether land planning on so far-reaching a scale as that projected by the 1947 Act will comport with "a free society" as commonly understood in the Anglo-American tradition.

The new British Town and Country Planning Act has taken as its major premise the thesis that "... the use of land (is) to be determined not by cost but by suitability measured in accordance with planning standards" (p. 9). To this end the Act has established a separate Ministry of Town and Country Planning, has vastly extended the powers of governmental authorities to acquire and develop land, and has nationalized all property value increments insofar as these grow out of state planning activities. This last feature of the Act—the nationalization of development values—is undoubtedly its most unique one.

Haar has made a lucid and thorough analysis of this and the other main features of the Act, showing their historical development, the economic and juridical assumptions underlying them, and the effects which they are likely to have upon future land development in England. At every point comparisons are made with American conditions and with the legal institutions which are common to both countries. The book is an admirable interpretation of a complicated planning law and will be of very great interest to human ecologists, regional sociologists, city planners, and others who are interested in the social control of land.

WALTER FIREY

University of Texas

Community Organization and Planning. By ARTHUR HILLMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. xviii, 378 pp. \$4.25.

Louis Wirth stated in the foreword to this book that the justification for adding this volume to the many that have preceded it lies in its careful sifting and appraisal of the most recent experiences and experiments in the improved organization of social life on the scale of the community. After reading this book, one would agree with Wirth.

This reviewer is of the opinion that sociologists as a whole have not given sufficient attention to the study of the community in general and to community planning in particular. There are many contributions yet that the sociologists can make to this field.

It is refreshing to see a book like this one appear on the scene. The concept of planning is carried out from beginning to end. The word, planning, has been in bad company in recent years and for this reason some have detoured the concept for fear of being given a red label. Workers in the community field appreciate the growing need and importance of planning. They know that if our democratic way of community life is to be improved it must be according to plan, and planned in a democratic way.

The author begins with a discussion of the concept of the community and the changing forms of the community. The next part of the book deals with the planning of communities. Community planning in rural areas and small towns is considered along with city planning. He also deals with community life in planned communities and housing projects. He mentions the criticisms that have been made concerning some of the preplanned communities and he gives the answers to the criticisms offered by proponents of the planned towns. Obviously, space did not permit including all phases of the problem.

Organized action in community life is discussed in four chapters. Five chapters are devoted to the functional areas of community planning. There is a chapter on services to children and youth. Since our population is growing older, something should have been said regarding the need for services to those in the evening of life. Too little attention also is given to health. The last part discusses procedures in community organization.

The book is well organized and adapted for text purposes on the junior college level. The bibliography at the end of each chapter is up-to-date and well selected. This book and a good teacher should afford the inspiration to the stu-

dent to assume a constructive role in community life.

LEONARD LOGAN

University of Oklahoma

How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights. By MARGOT HAAS WORMSER and CLAIRE SELTZ. New York: Association Press, 1951. xiv, 271 pp. \$3.75.

The "civil" rights referred to in this study manual (which I shall hereafter label by its initials) are the topics treated by the President's Committee on Civil Rights in the publication *To Secure These Rights* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947). In other words *HCCS-SCR* proposes, and I use the word advisedly, community surveys to discover the products of prejudice and discrimination, the differential access of ethnic groups to certain goods, services, facilities and opportunities. Information would be sought in the spheres of employment, housing, education, health and welfare service, recreation, etc.

The self-survey emphasis is an attempt to introduce a kind of grass-roots theme into the study of discrimination on the assumption that research activities may be combined with educational activities, and that those who participate in the survey will by that fact be better citizens and better informed ones. The extent to which indoctrination, fact-finding, and community mobilization can be combined is debatable.

There is no debating, however, that Gordon Allport's foreword is a needless burden for *HCCS-SCR* to carry. He polemically contrasts the self-survey with the "paternalistic" kind, by which he apparently means all others. In the realm of social inquiry at least he prefers science by as well as for the citizen. It would be unfair to the book to pursue this side debate beyond saying that the tone of Allport's endorsement would be more appropriate on a carton of bran flakes. For their part, the authors favor the "paternalistic" type of survey to the extent that they hope a competent study director can be hired or otherwise acquired.

The pattern of survey was worked out by the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress. It takes as its point of departure the surveys conducted by the Fisk University Group under Dr. Charles S. Johnson; the Commission has attempted to standardize the survey procedures. How successful this enterprise was cannot be judged since the methods of standardization are not divulged.

In general *HCCS-SCR* appears to be a useful manual although the section on interviewing is

not as satisfactory as *Interviewing for NORC* published by the National Opinion Research Center. If the numerous caveats are adhered to, moderately conscientious people may be dissuaded from doing surveys at all. But rash people may be overly encouraged by the tone of the book which accentuates the positive. The thoroughly qualified sociologist of course will have occasion to use *HCCS-SCR* only for pedagogical purposes and it may serve this purpose well.

LEONARD BROOM

University of California, Los Angeles

Social Policy and Social Research in Housing.

Edited by ROBERT K. MERTON, PATRICIA SALTER WEST, MARIE JAHODA and HANAN C. SELVIN. New York: Association Press, (*Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2), 1951. 187 pp. \$3.00.

This special issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* is a symposium of thirteen articles all concerned with sociological and social psychological research findings of potential value in the planning of residential communities and in the design and administration of either publicly- or privately-owned housing.

The leading and most extensive article by Catherine Bauer is a systematic outline of important social questions in the whole range of the housing field, including community planning, the objective analysis of which presumably could assist builders, administrators, and policy-makers in their consideration of alternative courses of action. The questions are formulated as hypotheses which appear on their face to be amenable to scientific testing.

In a section on "Social Relations and Social Structures in Housing," William Form reviews the existing studies on stratification in low- and middle-income housing areas. On the basis of the review, he questions the general possibility of achieving neighborly interaction and cooperative experience among socially heterogeneous people. "The hope of reducing tensions by planning a community of 'balanced' or 'mixed' social composition is based on false reasoning," concludes Form (p. 123). A completely antithetical prescription emerges from the impressive research by Marie Jahoda and Patricia West into the comparative effects of integrated and segregated public housing projects upon interpersonal relations between Negroes and whites. They report, in effect, a net reduction of tensions in the community at large as the consequence of "balanced" or "mixed" social composition. Practitioners must expect such conflict of opinion among their

consultant experts for a long time, if not indefinitely.

The differential effects upon attitudes and behavior of variable spatial arrangements and of variable qualitative conditions in housing are analyzed in a section on "Architecture and Social Psychology of Housing." Svend Riemer evaluates livability studies of what families do in their homes, of how housing affects their behavior, and of their housing preferences. He shows the special difficulties and pitfalls of this type of consumer research. Leon Festinger summarized existing studies in the micro-ecology of housing projects. F. Stuart Chapin, who carried on pioneer studies of experimental design in social effects of housing, deals in his current article mainly with privacy and circulation within the dwelling as factors in mental health.

In a section entitled "Social Context of Housing Processes," Ernest Fisher and Louis Winnick make a major contribution to conceptual clarification and to methodology in their analysis of the "filtering" process. John Dean divests himself of a further philippic against the devilish dogma of the beneficence of home ownership. Jay Rumney summarizes and evaluates the voluminous quasi-scientific literature on the social and fiscal costs of substandard housing. Nicholas Demarath and George Baker interpret the social organization of housebuilding in terms of occupational roles. Amos Hawley makes a neat statistical demonstration that costs of local government in metropolitan centers are notably affected by the magnitude of populations in the peripheral areas outside incorporated limits. Henry Cohen reviews the comparative experience with social surveys in the historically more mature British public housing and planning movement. In a concluding article, Hanan Selvin considers the values and disutilities that spring from the interplay of social research and social policy in housing.

This symposium is definitive evidence that research into housing problems has established itself as mutually advantageous to sociological theory and to housing practice. That the sponsors of these sociological and social psychological studies had to secure publication in a journal of a division of the American Psychological Association is a tribute to the catholicity and hospitality of that association; but more, it is testimony to the need for, and the appropriateness of the recent formation of, a sociological Society for the Study of Social Problems.

JOSEPH COHEN

University of Washington

Growing in the Older Years. Edited by WILMA DONAHUE and CLARK TIBBITTS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951. 204 pp. \$2.50.

Growing in the Older Years offers in print thirteen papers presented at the University of Michigan during the 1950 summer Conference on Aging. Seven of the papers deal with problems of health, both physical and mental, three others with education of older persons and one with the training of volunteers in community services for the aged.

While many of the papers suffer from generality, three stand out from the others in their contribution of new thinking and incisive analysis. Thomas A. Van Sant in "Responsibility of Education to the Older Adult" gives critical analysis to the "what" and "why" of adult education. He effectively challenges the view that adult education is merely "a second chance . . . to pick up things they [older persons] missed for good, bad, or indifferent reasons when they were children, teen-agers, or young adults." Ollie A. Randall, after discussing the handicaps and opportunities of work with older persons, gives special attention to the training of volunteers and the content and methods of that training. Her paper can prove of real help to many agencies now seeking to solve grandpa's and grandma's problems.

Third in this list is the paper entitled "Group Development and the Education of Older people." In this, Professor Heyns applies his own analyses and those of Lewin to the group participation of older persons. His treatment of group cohesiveness, belongingness and functional roles and what makes these possible in a group deserves the attention of all who seek to serve older persons. Here is an analysis which workers can use.

The reviewer must express some doubt as to the function of several of the other papers in this volume. Several repeat what has been presented many times before. To the student who has done a limited amount of "home work" these add little to either knowledge or insight. Nor does it appear that some of them will prove highly communicative to the non-professional. What troubles the reviewer is the determination of the audience for whom they were intended.

As indicated above several of the papers suffer from generality. Repeated comparisons of life on a farm in 1870 with life today will leave the critical reader with doubts both as to the correctness of suppositions about life in 1870 and occasionally about those of 1950.

Rare is the book which does not contain occasional statements not justified by the facts.

One learns with some surprise that we have previously held that "complete leisure is the keystone to contentment in old age" (Donahue); that older workers suffer more than does youth in periods of depression (Tibbitts); that "few who are able to work retire voluntarily." I do not know what Tibbitts means by "few" but the data from several large corporations indicate that over a third of their retirants voluntarily choose early retirement. It may also add to the understanding of many readers to know that "the interest that older people show" in civic affairs and politics is "a natural outgrowth of the biologic function."

In conclusion the reader must bear in mind that these papers were presented at a conference. That three of the thirteen contribute new knowledge and insight is a high batting average. After all many purposes are served by conferences on a university campus other than the extension or even the popularization of knowledge.

ELON H. MOORE

University of Oregon

The Habitual Criminal. By NORVAL MORRIS.
Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1952.
viii, 395 pp. \$5.00.

Norvall Morris, Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Melbourne, offers here, through the publication of his doctoral dissertation at the University of London, an enlightening analysis and evaluation of recidivist legislation in twenty-seven countries, with special emphasis upon English and Commonwealth practices, but with considerable comparative material relating to continental law and correctional technique. His major objective, as he states it, is this: "... we must protect society from the habitual criminal, and this will not be achieved until we comprehend the characteristics of habitual criminals, and the various means the criminal law (of this and other countries) can contrive to this end. Progress in criminology must be founded on an understanding of the criminal and his relation to society. It is hoped that this work will provide a factual basis for an understanding of habitual criminals." In the latter section of the volume the records of more than 300 habitual criminals in English prisons are analyzed following an exposition of eight complete case histories, with the aim to discover in the nature of the offender and his criminal history more rational approaches to his sentencing and correctional treatment. While the limitations of the data do not fully support ultimate policy inferences, the material should provide, as the author hopes, a useful partial foundation for further

follow-up research that should guide the growth of legislation and administrative methods in handling dangerous, repetitive criminals. More than this, he recommends—though these are not intrinsic to his data—certain potentially useful devices for the more effective correctional treatment of recidivists, in particular the utilization of hostels and of trial periods of employment outside the prison as a half-way step between detention and freedom, during the crucial period of early adjustment to an environment of diminished restrictions and of increased responsibilities. He points also to the need, often enough recognized but rarely implemented, for special medico-correctional institutions for deviated, persistent offenders.

Unfortunately Morris provides no comparison of English or continental approaches to the habitual criminal and those employed in the United States. He assumes that there is little basis for comparison (p. 83). In fact, however, both the basic problem itself and our statutory approaches to it reveal significant similarities as well as striking differences. Quite generally in the countries here studied as well as in the United States, treatment as in an habitual criminal is based upon a series of three or four convictions for serious crimes. Prolonged incarceration with close custodial provisions in "preventive detention" is the usual consequence. In a majority of countries too, as in the United States, the courts are disposed to avoid the severity of habitual criminal penalties in a majority of cases where they might be applied. Moreover, it appears—from the English data at any rate—that where the statutes are employed, often it is for offenders who are not of a violent or dangerous character.

Unlike practice here, there are a number of important peculiarities in British law and administration, some of which have analogues on the continent. Unlike the commonly prevailing rule in the United States, which establishes life terms for third or fourth offenders (specifically as life terms in twenty-three jurisdictions and indirectly to the same effect in several others), indeterminate sentences without maximum duration prevail generally in the British Commonwealth outside England itself and in Denmark and Germany. Rarely, it appears, however, do such sentences mean confinement as prolonged as that which occurs here. In other countries maximum terms are set—not uncommonly under legal provision that differ little from statutes in the United States—which establish an added increment beyond the ordinary sentence for the crime involved. What to an American seems a rather remarkable device prevails throughout the Commonwealth and in a majority of European countries, however, in the employ-

ment of a "dual-track system" of punishment that distinguishes between a preliminary period of "penal servitude" and a succeeding phase of "preventive detention" that is characterized by varied security measures. In a number of countries and under the English Prevention of Crime Act of 1908, the second period is designed to remove or mitigate the gratuitous suffering of ordinary prison confinement. Such detention is designed, in theory at least, to be a non-punitive measure for relatively prolonged public protection in a more-or-less specialized prison regime. (Under the Criminal Justice Act of 1948, although this dual-track system is not explicit in the law, something quite similar to it is contemplated under the Rules promulgated by the Secretary of State.) Morris recommends the establishment of a single-track system of detention for open-ended, indeterminate periods in specialized institutions where humane treatment could be provided.

This volume should be of considerable interest to American criminologists as well as to students of comparative criminal law. Its greatest value, perhaps, lies in its evidence of the need for increased empirical research on sentencing and treatment policies if we are to correct offenders and prevent habitual criminality. Social-legal studies of the sort well represented here are all too rare.

PAUL W. TAPPAN

New York University

Probation and Related Measures. By THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS, UNITED NATIONS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. xvi, 407 pp. \$3.00.

This study was prepared by the Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, at the request of the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council. Although concerned primarily with probation in the stricter sense of the term, the scope of the study is actually somewhat wider in as much as it includes a concise analysis of the historical and present-day relationships between probation and other measures involving the conditional suspension of punishment, such as the conditional sentence.

More specifically, the field of the study is confined to (a) an attempt to define the essential features of the probation system and its relation to selected related measures; (b) an analysis of the historical origins, development, and geographical diffusion of probation and derivative measures; (c) an exposition of probation legislation and practice in six countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands; (d) a comparative and critical appraisal of

the contents of probation legislation and practice.

The study, therefore, is quite broad in coverage. Yet, it has some very definite limitations to which the reader's attention should be called. Among the more important topics not touched upon by this book are the following: juvenile probation, presentence investigation, detention of defendants prior to the court's disposition and the relationship of this question to their subsequent release on probation. Also left out are certain other topics even more closely related to the basic subject of probation. They include, among others, experimental projects in probation, the practical results of this correctional method, and, finally, the financial aspects of probation.

For the most part, the scope of the present study excluded the topics listed here in order to avoid possible overlapping with other studies at present being carried out or soon to be launched by the United Nations Secretariat or its instrumentalities.

There were three main sources from which the report drew its data: one, primary sources, which included statutes, administrative reports, etc.; two, regular secondary sources, which were made up of systematic treatises, monographs, etc.; and three, various pieces of information submitted by the several governments, often at the urgent requests of the staff in charge of this undertaking.

Within its self-imposed limitations, *Probation and Related Measures* constitutes a worthwhile addition to the literature in the field of penology and international aspects of social welfare. It is an excellent first volume in the small library of documents the United Nations Secretariat expects to publish in this important area of public administration. The report is likely to be of tremendous assistance to many governments, especially those more recently organized or reorganized, such as the one in Libya which was created by the United Nations in December, 1951.

CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

The Hartford Seminary Foundation

The Reds Take a City. By JOHN W. RILEY, JR. and WILBUR SCHRAMM. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1951. xiv, 210 pp. \$2.75.

The Reds Take a City is an account of what happened to certain Koreans in Seoul during the three months of Communist control from June 28 to September 28, 1950, and an analysis of the Red blueprint for occupation. There are eleven translated narratives written by Koreans—a Congresswoman, a clergyman, a news-

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paper man, a physician, and other members of the educated and professional groups. The narratives all cover the three months period of occupation. They are vivid, detailed, moving and convincing. According to an excellent introduction by Frederick Williams, the analytical sections, which are interpreted with the narratives, are derived from a larger, scientific report to the U. S. on the responsibility of the two actions. This volume is indeed, one further offshoot of the scientific investigations which the Air Force is financing through the Human Resources Research Institute.

One of the first tasks of the invader was to eliminate every democratic person or institution in Seoul. The North Koreans moved over the border with everything prepared for the occupation. Some of their officials had been trained for three years, for their future jobs in South Korea. Someone was already designated for every position that had to be filled. Carloads of propaganda waited on the 38th parallel. In spite of well-laid plans to handle everything in Seoul as if it were a spontaneous uprising of the people against their "oppressors"—the Rhee government and the Americans—the bulging brief cases of North Korean officials gave the game away. These were the dossiers on the South Korean men and women marked for destruction.

The blueprint of the North Korean Communists included first the crushing military blow which would, and in three days actually did, take Seoul and its population over practically intact; second, the establishment of thought control; third, the setting up of new lines of authority. Communist regimes always establish full control over the press, radio, publications of all sorts, movies, and education. The pattern is one of complete control of all information, constant reiteration of a few simple themes (e. g. Americans are Imperialist) and use of every occasion and every person as a weapon of propaganda. Most significant of all, perhaps, is the technique of public confession used on those persons worth saving for the regime. It has all the elements of what the Chinese call "brain washing."

Riley and Schramm are particularly good in bringing out the technique of political control. Behind all formal authority there was always the hidden authority which, it was assumed by many, stretched to Moscow. It certainly reached to the smallest unit, administrative, cultural or neighbourhood; and to every man, woman, and child. Everyone was watched, including the watchers. Within three months the Communists had gone a long way towards achieving their major objectives of complete social and po-

litical control. That is the sobering part of the story.

The Reds Take a City is a valuable study. It shows how Social Science, properly used, can produce the highest type of intelligence for the planning of military, political and psychological warfare operations.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR

University of Washington

Negotiating with the Russians. Edited by RAYMOND DENNETT and JOSEPH E. JOHNSON. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1951. xi, 310 pp. \$3.50.

Nine men who took part in negotiations with the Russians in the 1940-1950 decade here describe their experiences in terms of: "the climate in which negotiation took place, the issues involved, the expected or hoped for results, the techniques and tactics of the United States, Russia and other nations, the nature of the compromises, if any, offered by participants, the reasons for agreement or disagreement, the outcome, and the consequences." The men and the issues were: J. R. Deane, military assistance; J. N. Hazard, lend lease; S. S. Alderman, Nuremberg trials; R. F. Mikesell, Bretton Woods; G. H. Blakeslee, Far Eastern Commission; E. F. Penrose, refugees and displaced persons; Ethridge and Black, Balkans; F. Osborn, atomic energy; and E. J. Simmons, cultural exchange. Philip E. Mosley summarizes some of the Soviet techniques of negotiation.

The purpose is to determine just how much solid achievement can be expected from the oft-urged policy of further negotiation with the Russians as a method of settling differences. The editors conclude that such negotiations "are rarely useful or successful unless the international political climate is favorable,"—and power at the disposal of those negotiating with the Russians is apparently part of this climate—yet they feel that "the free world should, nevertheless, be prepared to expend the time, money and effort in additional negotiation."

The data presented are important in themselves and also as an illustration of the ambiguities to which a natural-history rather than a scientific approach to such problems leads. Cultural and personality differences were so profound as to make any other than a scientific analysis inadequate. There is no doubt that Russian concepts of interpersonal relations and negotiating are different from ours. People trained in parliamentary traditions, with dif-

ferent conceptions of their roles—judging themselves and their opposite numbers by different standards, disturbed because the looking-glass self reflected back to them is not the self they have been striving to project—feel helpless before people who frustrate them as completely as do the Russians. Men raised under the influence of Robert's *Rules of Order*, which forbid the use of personalities, vituperation, and rudeness, are nonplussed when confronted by men who feel no shame or embarrassment in using them. Yet it is probably equally true that American negotiators annoyed the Russians. One senses in these accounts the assured conviction of the Americans of their superiority. (In one case the Russians were taken to task for not expressing their thanks for a courtesy extended to them in the course of the negotiations; thereafter, "Soviet officials began to preface every meeting with a lengthy statement of their appreciation of all that was being done for them. . . ." (p. 44).) One can picture them telling themselves we must be patient, we must be able to sit tight while the Russians go through their paces, etc. It probably looked patronizing and condescending to the Russians, as, for many years the behavior of the British toward natives everywhere—including the United States—looked.

Two scientific approaches could help us get a better grip on the whole problem of how to deal successfully with the Russians around the bargaining table. Let the Department of State appoint a panel of persons trained in Bales' technique to observe all the sessions in any important negotiation. (The Russians could be invited to do the same). Let these records be statistically analyzed by Bales. Russian and American would have to agree on the data; they would have no choice. What the data meant, how to interpret them—these might be open to question. But at least we would have a scientific analysis of the negotiating process distorted to only a minimum degree by cultural and personal ideosyncrasies.

A second approach would be to have the negotiating process analyzed according to the theory of games, success or failure being determined not by how the negotiators felt but in terms of the minimax principle.

This book is a useful contribution to the sociology of conflict; what we now need is an application of sociological techniques and concepts to the data in order to evolve a scientific guide for the practical men who must conduct negotiations—with Russians or anyone else.

JESSIE BERNARD

Pennsylvania State College

The American Symphony Orchestra: a Social History of Musical Taste. By JOHN H. MUELLER. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1951. xii, 437 pp. \$6.00.

Professor Mueller's interest in the sociology of music is known to the fraternity by his various articles on musical taste, a first-rate monograph on that subject (with Kate Hevner Mueller, 1942), and his *Theories of Aesthetic Appreciation* (1934). The present volume "traces the growth of the symphony orchestra to its roots in European traditions, recounts the crises which it has overcome, the musical repertoires with which it has regaled its audiences during the past century, the social setting in which it has had its being, and finally offers a discussion of the elusive problems of aesthetic taste in terms of which the historical trends can be understood and evaluated" (Preface).

In the past thirty years there has been no systematic effort to treat social aspects of music with the fulness of a Charles Lalo. Partial treatments can be found in sociological writings of Sorokin, Horkeimer, Mukerjee, Adorno, and Honigsheim; in broad cultural-philosophical works by Huizinga, Spengler, Northrop, and Veblen; in musical biographies and histories by Curt Sachs, Newman, Barzun, Leichentritt, Einstein, and Bukofzer; in psychological researches by H. K. Mueller and Paul Farnsworth. Anthropology, directly or through a derivative area now known as comparative musicology, has made the arts an important desideratum. All of this has gone far to counteract the mysticism surrounding such concepts as the "unique genius" and the dualistic scheme which reserves art for esoteric "higher" realms. Still lacking is a bold over-all examination of central issues.

Prof. Mueller has never pretended to grapple with a total sociology of music—however its scope is defined—but has limited himself to evaluations of aesthetic philosophy and to methodical interpretation of his data on performances. With this work he summarizes both of these examinations made in the past fifteen years, casting them in a larger framework; he distinctly advances a difficult field. For example, Chapter 2 analyzes the transition from the feudal system to the new commercial order, and its implications for artistic life: the decline of church and court (both in their time the chief patrons and employers of artists), and the rise of a secular public. The American colonies had never possessed the institutions and trappings of eighteenth-century society, "... no imperial courts like Vienna, no prodigal noblemen, no prosperous crossroads of commerce like Hamburg, Leipzig, and Venice" (p. 16). Nor was the colonial ideology conducive to the art of

music, although painting, sculpture, and literature fared better. Yet from these beginnings the symphony orchestra came to represent the "most conspicuous single phenomenon" in the development of our nineteenth-century musical tradition. It became here, according to Prof. Mueller, a more independent medium than it had been in Italy, France, and Germany, for in those countries the orchestra had been subordinated to opera. Conditions which led to the "emancipation" of instrumental music are traced.

Almost 150 pages are then utilized for case studies of seventeen "major" orchestras, so defined by criteria of permanency, professional membership, and budget. Historical insights and social factors in choices of repertoire are presented for each group. Chapters 4 and 5 are general summaries and interpretations of diligent tabulations on "life spans of composers" and

"national sources of the orchestral repertoire." All this prepares for two chapters which expand inductively from both empirical and historical data. "The Orchestra, Concert Folkways, and Social Life" deals with such issues as social functions, roles of conductors, and relations with the union. The last chapter, "Musical Taste and How It Is Formed," reiterates and embellishes the book's theme, namely, that musical opinions and tastes are "forged in a matrix of social and psychological forces"—a tune familiar to sociologists, but still strange to many of the larger audience to whom the book is addressed. This last chapter is well-tempered, authoritative, lucid; it bids fair to be heard by many as the classical expression of mature sociological thinking in this field.

MAX KAPLAN

University of Illinois

BOOK NOTES

The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People.

By OSCAR HANDLIN. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1951. 310 pp. \$4.00.

Professor Handlin tells us, "I found the material for this volume entirely in the writings of the immigrants and of sensitive observers who witnessed their adjustment at first hand" (p. 308). It may accordingly be accepted as an authentic presentation of the personal and individual experiences of the immigrants, and of their emotional and spiritual reaction to them. As such, it is a sad and tragic tale. The author says that "the effect of the transfer was harsher upon the people than upon the society they entered" (p. 5). The volume is one long series of accounts of loneliness, hardship, disappointment, frustration, and despair. Professor Handlin says he has chosen to follow a single strand, and as a result the general impression may be somewhat exaggerated and overdrawn. Even the title is revealing. The author speaks over and over again as if the migrants had been *forced* to leave home, as if the movement were not voluntary. One wonders why, if things were as bad as this, they kept coming. But it is a very good thing to have this side of the picture so ably presented, and the volume will serve as a valuable offset to the "Promised Land" concept of American immigration.

That Professor Handlin has not delved very deeply into the theory of migration is revealed by such statements as that on page 293: "Americans will then face the question of

whether the old expansiveness of their society will persist without the stimulus of an increasing population"—as if without immigration the population would not increase.—HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

The Health of the Mind. By J. R. REES. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1951. 207 pp. \$2.75.

This brief exposition of some fundamental principles of psychology and psychiatry is written in a lucid style and directed to the ordinary reader. The writer does not sacrifice accuracy for the sake of popularization. The book, however, tends to acquire the character of a message to arouse the average person to a concern with mental hygiene. This is perfectly in keeping with the position that Dr. Rees occupies as Director of the World Federation for Mental Health. He adopts the concept of mental health as defined by the World Health Organization, "as the state of complete physical, social and mental well-being, not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." This would involve "fostering progress towards better conditions, saner attitudes and sound mental health throughout the world."

The book consists of eleven chapters: "Mental Health," "The Physical Machine," "Instincts and the Personality," "Mind and Body," "Psychological Mechanisms," "Mental Breakdown: Its Cause and Its Cure," "The Problems of Early Life," "The Problems of Childhood

and Adolescence," "Adult Problems," "Sex Education," and "The Art of Adjustment."

Dr. Rees has a remarkable ability to present vividly the behavioral problems of everyday life and to impart to the reader clear insights into his own makeup.—SAMUEL M. STRONG

Community Organization and Agency Responsibility. By RAY JOHNS and DAVID F. DEMARCHE. New York: Association Press, 1951. xiv, 274 pp. \$3.75.

The emphasis is indicated by the sub-title: A study of the process of community organization for social welfare, and of the role of the direct-service organizations as responsible participants. However, other purposes of community planning are recognized, and other channels than those in which social agencies participate. Some effort is made to provide a sociological orientation to community structures. There is a brief but useful history of welfare services as background for the description of welfare planning.

Here are the usual loose and circular concepts such as community needs and resources, and standards, but there is also some freshness of approach and a lively sense of professional frontiers. Illustrative case material is included. Original data on the inter-agency relationships of over five thousand staff members is presented and discussed. The barriers reported to effective cooperative relationships would prove to be a useful basis of discussion for either the beginning or advanced practitioner in the field. In general, the book is of most value to people directly related to the processes described, but it is a source of supplementary knowledge for the student of urban life and social institutions.—ARTHUR HILLMAN

Statistical Methodology Reviews: 1941-1950.

Edited by OSCAR KRISEN BUROS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1951. x, 457 pp. \$7.00.

This book was designed to assist statisticians and research workers to locate and evaluate books on statistical methodology published during the 1941-50 decade. It is the third volume in a continuing series. The first volume is entitled *Research and Statistical Methodology Books and Review, 1933-1938*, and the second, *The Second Yearbook of Research and Statistical Methodology Books and Reviews*.

The new volume differs from its predecessors in certain significant respects: (1) It places exclusive emphasis on statistical meth-

odology and closely cognate mathematical subjects rather than including broader problems of scientific method, research techniques, history of science, and social relations of science. (2) The selection, as well as the excerpting of reviews, has been done much more discriminatingly and thoroughly. (3) The period covered is longer. (4) The indexes of authors, reviewers, and books are much more extended and improved.

This volume makes readily available in one place 781 review excerpts pertaining to 342 recent books on statistical methodology. The material relates not only to the social sciences, but to virtually every field where statistical methodology is applicable.

Research workers, teachers, and students interested in keeping abreast of recent developments in the field of statistical methodology will find this volume indispensable.—CALVIN F. SCHMID

Realidad Poblacional de Puerto Rico. By EMILIO COFRESE. San Juan: Pan American Book Stores, 1951. 142 pp. \$1.00.

"The fundamental and most urgent problem of Puerto Rico is overpopulation." This is the basic premise of the author, a University of Puerto Rico sociologist. His purpose is to arouse Puerto Ricans to action by summarizing a number of studies and suggesting a well-rounded program for balancing population and resources.

Puerto Rico, with a population density of 645 per square mile and one of the world's highest rates of natural increase, is compared with other areas on birth and death rates and other demographic indices. The most important section of the book reports on a fertility study involving 3,520 women, made by the author. Correlations run in the same direction as those found in similar studies made in the continental United States, except that no race differential was found. Sterilization ranks second to condoms as a birth control technic, which may surprise those who do not know the Island.

Persons concerned with the race between population increase and economic betterment in underdeveloped areas where the dominant church opposes family planning will find some encouragement. The Puerto Rican women interviewed gave the following reasons for not using contraceptives (p. 95): husband's objection, 24.4%; ignorance of their existence, 24.4%; . . .; religious scruples, 4.8%!

CLARENCE SENIOR

Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent. Edited by T. LYNN SMITH and ALEXANDER MARCHANT. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. viii, 466 pp. \$5.75.

Under the joint editorship of T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant, sixteen authors, Brazilian and North American in approximately equal numbers, collaborated in producing this work which turns out to be "neither fish nor fowl." With the exception of a few chapters, notably Chapter VI "The People and Their Characteristics" written by T. Lynn Smith and Chapter XV "Religion and the Church" by Roger Batisde, most of the articles are not solid enough to warrant their use in college or graduate courses on Brazil or Latin America.

On the other hand, the presentation of the materials throughout the book is, on the whole, so uninteresting as to make this volume more or less unsuitable for general circulation. A truly worthwhile and comprehensive book on Brazil in English still remains to be written.

The volume, however, has at least one redeeming feature. It includes some fifty excellent photographs and maps which are likely to delight the non-professional reader and to be of considerable interest to the more serious student of Brazilian culture.—CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

Chūgoku Nōson Shakai no Kōzō. By TADASHI FUKUTAKE. Tokyo: Yūhikaku Publishing Co., 1951. 561 pp. 600 Yen.

The title, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society*, is a little misleading. Actually the study is restricted to two limited areas, the Kiang-Nan delta of Central China, extending over the Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces, and the Hopeih and Shantung provinces in North China. However, the general aim is to delineate the forms of social relationships characteristic of rural China, analyze the conditions which make them possible, and show the consequences of these relations.

The data were gathered in five field trips to Central and North China, and from the unusually complete files of the Department of Research of the Manchurian Railway Company. For the two areas separately, the author discusses: (1) the family system with its elaborate relationship patterns in both the primary and extended families; (2) the village structure with its institutional forms for administration, cooperation, security, and social differentiation; and (3) the channels of relations between the village and the surrounding communities. Attention is given particularly to the systems of control, and to the conflict

between the rational-purposive basis of rural life and the non-rational traditional aspects.

The author draws two striking conclusions. First, he finds a disintegrative tendency in the Chinese family due to its practice of dividing inheritance equally among the male children. The structure of the extended family and the village is interpreted as having been greatly influenced by the need to counteract this tendency. Two, contrary to the usual view, Chinese village life is regarded as neither strongly unified nor isolationist. Extreme class division and the rule of village exogamy are seen as affecting the unity and insulation of the villages. An excellent comparison of Japanese and Chinese rural society is given in Appendix 1 (18 pp.).—YOSHIHIRO NAKAMURA

Five States, A Study of the Youth Authority Program as Promulgated by the American Law Institute. By BERTRAM M. BECK. Philadelphia: American Law Institute, 1951. vii, 145 pp. No price indicated.

In 1940 the American Law Institute adopted a Model Youth Correction Authority Act, the stated purpose of which is to substitute "for retributive punishment methods of training and treatment directed toward the correction and rehabilitation of young persons found guilty of violation of law." Mr. Beck clearly and concisely reports on the many modifications which have been made as this Model Act has been put into practice in California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Massachusetts, and Texas, and he suggests alternative solutions for problems which have been encountered.

As one reads of the great differences between the Model Act and the enacted statutes he gets the impression that the "new ideas" of the Institute have been almost ignored in the state legislation. For example, while the Model Act was designed to benefit young criminals, not juvenile delinquents, in all five states the enacted statutes are mainly instruments for handling juvenile delinquents only. Similarly, the Model Act provides that the court should commit almost all youthful offenders to the Authority, the intent being to divide correctional procedure into two distinct parts—trial and treatment—and, hence, to limit the judiciary to the mere determination of whether a crime has been committed. But in practice the powers of the court remain essentially unchanged. The judge commits a youth to the Authority only if he wants him incarcerated, and the Authority is largely restricted to handling persons committed to institutions. In general, as the author observes, "The Institute program has thus far done very little to better the correctional treat-

ment of the age group which originally excited its interest and on whose behalf it originally launched the Authority program."—DONALD R. CRESSEY

Society in Transition (Second Edition). By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1952. xiii, 878 pp. \$6.00.

Social Problems (Fourth Edition). By J. L. GILLIN, C. G. DITTMER, R. J. COLBERT, and N. M. KASTLER. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. xiv, 496 pp. \$4.25.

Society in Transition is typical of Dr. Barnes' texts—encyclopaedic, elementary, evaluative, liberal and readable. The subject matter is primarily contemporary social problems with considerable treatment of development and trends. The frame of reference is cultural lag, of which social and personal disorganization are considered to be special cases. This edition extends the concept to include adjustment lags between institutions and to point out the inadequate substitutes for the rapidly declining agrarian, primary group patterns.

New chapters have been added on family, housing and community organization, yet the volume is shorter by virtue of the elimination of more peripheral and evanescent problems and by more careful editing. The treatment of problems is largely descriptive rather than explanatory—to allow variation in interpretation by different teachers. Much of the statistics has been brought reasonably up to date, but much of the exposition still refers principally to the nineteen twenties and thirties. The term "post-war" sometimes refers to the period after the first world war but a good share of the bibliography has been published in the past ten years. Actual and proposed remedial and preventive programs are an important part of the discussion.

Social Problems is a serious attempt to structure the field of problems and pathology according to a somewhat eclectic sociological point of view. Except for the addition of two chapters on urban problems and rural problems, some rearrangement, and the addition of an appendix designed to aid students in reading descriptive statistics, this edition is essentially the same as previous ones. Text and statistics have been brought up to date. Emphasis is on explanation more than on description of problems. Four of the twenty chapters deal with general factors, frames of reference, and theory. The sections on population problems and race relations have been much improved. Two chapters on industrial problems and one on war present two important problem areas not usually found in similar texts.

For those whose lectures are all meat, *Society*

in Transition will furnish spice. For those whose talks are all spice, *Social Problems* will provide the broth.—FRANK F. MILES

New Horizons in Criminology. (Second Edition). By HARRY ELMER BARNES and NEGLEY K. TEETERS. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951. xvi, 887 pp. \$5.75.

This popular text-book has been brought up to date by incorporation of recent popular and professional writings and by descriptions of recent changes in penology. Although there are many revisions of the order in which topics are discussed, the general outline of the first edition has been retained. Discussion of the sociology and psychology of crime still occupies only about twenty-five per cent of the total space, as does the history of penology. The remaining pages are given to descriptions of current police, court, and correctional practices, and to "recommendations." In this edition there seems to be slightly less emphasis on penological history, largely because more space is devoted to discussion of contemporary correctional practices.

In the section on crime the authors continue to ignore the theoretical portions of other standard text-books in the field. In fact, they refer generally to writings which describe precise theories of crime causation or outline fresh approaches to the study of crime as representing either "dogmatism" or "intellectual snobbery." Their own approach is "multiple factor," but they again emphasize the importance of what is called the "something-for-nothing psychology." And while they insist that we cannot state what causes crime, they have little hesitancy in telling us how to deal with criminals. For example, the words "should," "ought," or the equivalent are used at least twenty-eight times in Chapter III, seven times in one paragraph (p. 111). This seems to represent either "dogmatism" or "intellectual snobbery."—DONALD R. CRESSEY

Sociologi. By GUNNAR BOALT, EDMOND DAHLSTRÖM, ROLAND VON EULER, ERLAND VON HOFSTEN, GEORG KARLSSON, and BENGT RUNDBLAD. Stockholm: Forum, A.B., 1951. 303 pp. Kr. 18:50.

Den Moderna Sociologien. By GEORG KARLSSON. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Forlag, 1951. 53 pp. Kr. 2:75.

Sociologiens Forskningsmetoder. By GEORG KARLSSON. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Forlag, 1951. 55 pp. Kr. 2:75.

Sociologi is the first modern elementary textbook in sociology to appear in Swedish

and using, as far as possible, Swedish material for its empirical and illustrative content. Written by six of the younger Swedish sociologists, the book immediately impresses one with their thorough familiarity with American sociology and with the excellence of their selection of material as well as with the competence of their theoretical orientation in the field as a whole. There is perhaps no other text in existence today which, within the compass of three hundred pages, equals the present one in comprehensiveness combined with brevity and systematization of content. Georg Karlsson's opening chapter on "A Sociological Reference System" manages, in eight pages, to give a lucid and coherent account of nearly all the important sociological concepts at present in sociological use. Eight of the fifteen chapters are by Gunnar Boalt (Stockholm), who covers with rare charm and humor, as well as with scholarly competence, the following subjects: The group, status, social classes, the sociology of the school, religious behavior, the work group, the sociology of military service, and social maladjustment. Other chapters deal with the family and marriage (Karlsson), the time factor (Euler), urban sociology (Dahlström), rural sociology (Rundblad), local community planning (Dahlström), and by the same author, a chapter on "The Concept of Need in Social Planning". The volume concludes with a chapter on elementary statistical concepts (Hofsten), a good bibliography, and an index. For all of these chapters, the authors draw as far as possible on Swedish material but much of the best recent material from American sociology is also included, because, as Boalt says, the U.S.A. is the only place where sociologists "go around loose" inquiring into many strange things. This is an admirable text and makes one wonder whether American sociologists do not at least partly defeat their purpose by burying their students under an avalanche of words and illustrative material of such vast volume as to obliterate, or at least obscure, the theoretical framework and the basic propositions which should be prominent in the first course.

In the two small pocketbook-sized pamphlets, Georg Karlsson (Uppsala) has summarized in briefest possible compass the main outlines of modern sociology and sociological research methods, including brief annotated bibliographies on both subjects. The essence of these booklets is, of course, their brevity, and I know of nothing comparable in English either so far as small volume or excellence is concerned. Booklets like these are the

perfect answer to those students and people in general who want to know what sociology is about without being compelled to wade through encyclopedic textbooks or long-winded monographs.—GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

Manuel de sociologie (2 vols.). By A. CUVILLIER.

Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950. xvii, 712 pp. 600 francs.

This is an elementary textbook for students in sociology at French universities and deals only with the sociology as taught there. The book contains an extensive general and classified bibliography and an index of sociological concepts and writers. All material is critically discussed.

The author first sketches a history of sociology from Plato to our time. French, German and Anglo-American sociology are subclassified by schools of thought. Italian, Roumanian, Russian and Polish sociologies are briefly mentioned.

The discussion of the subject-matter of sociology is introduced by the author's own frankly Durkheimian definition of sociology. Three chapters deal with different schools of thought in sociology, including even such schools as existentialism. One chapter is devoted to the discussion of method. The systematic treatment of sociology occupies the rest of the book. Sociology, as a science of groups, is divided into two parts: (1) Morphology or material structure—ecology, population studies, etc.—and (2) Physiology or social functions and collective representations—economic sociology, sociology of law and moral ideas, sociology of kinship groups and sociology of politics and culture.

The book gives a comprehensive picture of the sociology of many nations and schools of thought. Both the presentation of the material and the discussion are well documented by quotations and references to the bibliography. The book has also some shortcomings, for instance in its historical part, which is little more than a list of names and works. But in spite of its minor shortcomings, the fundamental merits of the book stand out conspicuously and make it a very valuable contribution not only to didactic literature in sociology, but also to sociological thought in general. With the revived interest in the works of the Durkheimian school on this continent, the book may be found interesting as a bird's-eye view of sociology from the Durkheimian angle.—VLADIMIR CERVINKA

Social Work and Social Living: Explorations in Philosophy and Practice. By BERTHA CAPEN REYNOLDS. New York: Citadel Press, 1951. xiii, 176 pp. \$2.50.

Bertha Capen Reynolds, one of America's distinguished social workers, whose published works include *Re-thinking Social Case Work* and the more popular *Learning and Teaching in Social Work*, describes in this, her latest book, her experience covering nearly five years of war work in the Personal Service Department of a leading labor organization, The National Maritime Union. She reports and interprets here the more important observations made while serving individuals and families, who sought aid from an organization which belonged to them because they were its members.

But more than as a description of one's experience, the importance of this comparatively little book lies in a basic question, bound to be disturbing to many social workers, which it raises and attempts to answer. According to the writer, social workers tend to think that their attitudes toward people, developed during professional training, are so much better than many prevailing in their communities that they often develop a sense of superiority towards non-professional individuals and the "misconceptions" to which the latter subscribe. Deploring this tendency toward professional paralysis, she asks whether social workers cannot use, more consciously than they do now, their common heritage as members of communities. This must be done, she insists, since "social work and social living instead of being in contrast, or being artificially brought together, are inextricably mixed and inseparable." She goes on to conclude that "in living as social beings, we shall find the enrichment of our professional work and the clarity of purpose that shall make one whole of what we think and what we do."

The book is, of course, addressed primarily to professionally trained social workers. The sociologist will find it interesting in as much as it focusses attention on certain areas of friction and social distance between one of the newest professions and the communities within which it is practiced.—CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

Community Planning for Human Services. By BRADLEY BUELL and ASSOCIATES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. xiv, 464 pp. \$5.50.

After participating in many surveys Community Research Associates, Inc., undertook a study of St. Paul as "a typical urban American

community" to see if they could find a basis for an integrated program of social work. They discovered some interesting "facts," from which they somehow arrived at the conclusion that "the pace of integrated community planning depends upon (1) a greater unity of purpose, (2) better scientific and professional disciplines, and (3) more coherent national leadership" (p. 412). The reviewer is quite in agreement with this threefold statement, but he fails to find in the book evidence to establish the generalization.

This leads us to ask just what were the authors trying to produce—a research monograph, a textbook in social work, or an appeal for popular support? If it was to be a monograph, the findings could have been presented in one-tenth the space, and the generalizations should have been limited to those legitimately derived from the data assembled. If it was to be a text book, it could have offered a more coherent body of descriptive and historical material. If it was to be a popular appeal for support of a unified social work program, then it needed brevity, freedom from jargon, and a simple but well ordered presentation of evidence of the relationship between integration on the one hand and prevention of poverty, disease, and maladjustment on the other. It seems to the reviewer that this book serves none of these purposes well.—STUART A. QUEEN

Essentials in Interviewing: For the Interviewer Offering Professional Services. By ANNE F. FENLASON. New York: Harper and Bros., 1952. xvi, 352 pp. \$4.00.

The above volume by the late Professor Fenlason is organized as an elementary text in training workers to use the personal interview "as an instrument in helping people who seek professional services" in a wide variety of fields. Part I (with four chapters on "Essential Knowledge of Backgrounds for the Interviewer," "Essential Knowledge of Personality and Behavior," "Essential Interviewing Methods," and "Essential Attitudes in Interviewing") comprises two-thirds of the volume. Background material is drawn largely from anthropology, psychology, and sociology, although considerable illustrative material is drawn also from business, agriculture, nursing, vocational guidance, journalism, and other fields. Each of the four chapters is followed by five or six suggested class assignments and by a selected bibliography.

Part II provides concrete illustrative data which are tied in with the discussion in Part I. The illustrations were contributed primarily by university students and by local social work organizations. This part of the volume, states

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the author, has been edited only in order to condense the data and to protect clients against identification. After each excerpt two or three brief questions are introduced on the content of the data and on the soundness of interviewing techniques used by the worker.

The sociologically oriented reader will miss references to the work of such interviewing experts as Clifford R. Shaw, Robert Merton, Harriet Mowrer, Ada Sheffield, and others. He will also miss a general discussion on the validity of interviewing techniques.—PAULINE V. YOUNG

Yearbook of the United Nations, 1950. New York: United Nations (Columbia University Press, distributor), 1951. xii, 1068 pp. \$12.50.

This yearbook presents a detailed account of the world economic, social and political problems that the United Nations has attempted to solve, for the most part, with skillfully worded and tiresomely debated resolutions. Its greatest value probably lies in an objective although belated presentation of controversial questions such as the Korean conflict; a more balanced or complete reporting of arguments by the various delegations is usually not available in the public press.

Sections I and II of Part One describe the origins, functions, and organization of the United Nations. In addition to the Korean question, Section III on Political and Security Questions also deals with Indonesia, India-Pakistan, Palestine, Spain, the Former Italian Colonies, Greece and similar trouble areas. Section IV on Economic and Social Questions outlines programs for the economic development of underdeveloped areas, full employment, and the improvement of national and international statistics, but indicates that little has been done beyond the resolution, recommendation, consultation and advisory stage. On the side of actual accomplishments of the United Nations, five pages have been devoted to the activities of the International Children's Emergency Fund. Sections V and VI deal with Non-Self-Governing Territories and the International Trusteeship System; the development of various Trust Territories and factors allegedly related to capacity for self-government are discussed at length. Legal questions related to the United Nations are briefly considered in Section VII. Part Two of the Yearbook lists the numerous specialized agencies of the United Nations and their functions.

A box score of United Nations' successes and failures would improve the yearbook. Both the table of contents and the index are excellent.—LYLE W. SHANNON

The Race Question in Modern Science.

[UNESCO.] Series of five pamphlets: *Racial Myths* by JUAN COMAS, *Race and Biology* by L. C. DUNN, *Race and Psychology* by OTTO KLINEBERG, *Race and Culture* by MICHAEL LEIRIS, and *The Roots of Prejudice* by ARNOLD ROSE. Paris: UNESCO (Columbia University Press, distributor), 1951. 51, 48, 39, 46, and 41 pp. respectively. Twenty-five cents each.

The preparation and dissemination of this series of pamphlets is part of UNESCO's program regarding racial contacts and the problems of ethnic groups. Written by five scientists with different specialties, they nevertheless are similar in their conclusions, representing different aspects of the same story. They are in essence scientific tracts to combat false notions about race and the doctrine of racism. The Mexican anthropologist Juan Comas ties race prejudice historically in with colonialism and finds its basis in economic rivalries. He attacks specifically the Negro myth, the Jewish myth, and the myth of Aryan or Nordic superiority. L. C. Dunn, professor of biology at Columbia University in what the reviewer regards as the best of the series, shows the radical change in the understanding of race and race differences that has come from the science of genetics. Psychologist Klineberg, also of Columbia, gives a sound critical treatment of psychological tests and concludes that innate racial differences in intelligence have not been demonstrated. The French ethnologist Leiris avers that race is not a determinant of culture, that race prejudice is not inborn but began with colonialism as a justification for exploitation of other and darker people. Finally, sociologist Rose of the University of Minnesota finds as causes of prejudice such factors as ignorance, personal advantage, and superiority complex, cites ways in which prejudice is harmful to the prejudiced, and exhorts his readers to reduce prejudice in its many manifestations. The pamphlets are simply and effectively written, but stand in need of better proofreading.—MAURICE R. DAVIE

Introduction à l'étude géographique de la population du monde. By PIERRE GEORGE. (Institut national d'études démographiques. Travaux et documents. Cahier no. 11.) Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951. 284 pp. 600 Francs.

The first part of this book is devoted mostly to an interesting and original discussion of the factors affecting population distribution. In the second and shorter part Mr. George summarizes available knowledge on demographic trends in various countries. The fact that Mr. George is

both a geographer and an avowed Marxist lends an unusual flavor to his book; thus we find a geographer consciously minimizing the role of climate and topography on population distribution. As a result his brief but excellent chapters on this subject are a good antidote to the work of Huntington and others. On the other hand, his Marxist bias prevents him from fully appreciating the problems of overpopulation in underdeveloped areas. He is also ready to accept uncritically the thesis that the U.S.S.R. is exhibiting a new pattern of demographic development. On the whole many of the ideas presented by Mr. George are challenging and deserve further scrutiny by human ecologists and human geographers. Especially interesting is his attempt to relate occupational structure and population distribution.

Even though this study was supposed to be exploratory, it is unfortunate that Mr. George did not document it more fully and extend his bibliographical appendix. This reviewer was astonished not to find any references to D. Kirk's *Europe's Population During the Interwar Period* and especially W. Moore's *Economic Demography of Southern and Eastern Europe*. The data presented by Kirk and Moore are certainly relevant to a number of points discussed by Mr. George.—GEORGES SABAGH

Group Treatment in Psychotherapy: A Report of Experience. By ROBERT G. HINCKLEY and LYDIA HERMANN. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951. x, 136 pp. \$3.00.

The authors, a psychiatrist and a psychiatric social worker, present some of their observations and reflections concerning the nature and efficacy of group therapy in a students' mental hygiene clinic. The book is commendable for its practical orientation and for its inclusion of group session protocols. A beginning or inexperienced group worker can obtain some helpful ideas about technique and about the typical trends and interactions to be anticipated.

The presentation, however, is marred by a lack of clarity and precision of thinking and by an occasional excess of intuitional zeal. Phrases like "emotional inanition" and "emotional osmosis" are introduced without comment or definition, and social group work (distinguished by the authors from group therapy) is defined as "... a method of (1) performance, (2) discussion centered on a group objective, (3) social adjustment through teamwork, and (4) sublimation through utilization of energy. The process is one of fraternizing." Elsewhere the handshaking accompanying the introductions at the first meeting of a new therapy group draws the interpretive comment: "Even so simple a

process as shaking hands becomes a confusion; yet with some help from the leader the patients begin to appreciate their need to feel safe through physical contact."

The volume closes with an interesting chapter covering the progress of a group over a 40-session period and with an appendix giving statistical information such as the average number of sessions attended per patient, number of additional hours for individual consultation, etc.

The book is not substantial enough to offer very much to the professional group therapist, and is insufficiently detailed to serve as a text. Its main value would seem to lie in the protocols themselves and in the interpretive comments appended by the authors. These sections give an interesting and informative picture of group therapy in process.—HARRISON G. GOUGH

The Retarded Child. By HERTA LOEWY. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. 160 pp. \$3.75.

The author of this little volume is a British teacher who has for many years been occupied with the education of mentally backward children. It is a well-meaning, friendly, chatty advice book for parents and teachers of handicapped youngsters.

Retarded children are put into two major categories. First, those whose brain structure is sound and without injury, but who have suffered injuries of the connections from the brain. Second, mentally defective children in whom the brain itself is damaged. The methods set forth are meant to apply mostly to the first category who are subject to much personal, social and intellectual growth and development, but only through patient application of specialized teaching techniques.

The objective is that of helping the mentally handicapped child to live as nearly as possible like normal children. Counseling and guidance are provided to develop self-confidence, self-control, and self-discipline. With full acceptance of the child and his limitations, lessons are given in the form of games. These lesson-games are used especially to teach the three R's. Emphasis is placed on speech training, and on music, drawing and painting as outlets for emotions.

The average teacher will find nothing particularly new in this book. From reading it one is led to conclude that the secret of the author's success as a teacher of retarded children is in her apparent ability to build warm meaningful relationships with her wards and to make their learning episodes of unhurried fun.—A. R. MANGUS

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Growth and Culture: A Photographic Study of Balinese Childhood. MARGARET MEAD and FRANCES COOKE MACGREGOR. xvi, 223 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951. \$7.50.

This book does three things:

First, it illustrates Margaret Mead's hypothesis that physical growth and social culture are so closely intertwined in early childhood that even such at first sight purely physical aspects of growth as the balancing of the body are substantially affected by the culture patterns which govern child training. The author says, "In this study we are primarily concerned with the extent to which the cultural setting facilitates or inhibits, deflects or specializes, the orderly process of growth of motor behavior." Taking the categories derived by Dr. Arnold Gesell for describing the physical and motor development of babies in New Haven, Connecticut, and using 4000 photographs of Balinese babies taken by Gregory Bateson, the authors show that Balinese babies go through the same general developmental stages as American babies, but with significant differences which can be attributed to cultural differences in the way children are handled in the two cultures.

Second, this book formulates a philosophy of child-rearing aimed to develop autonomous, democratic individuals, avoiding the evils of a rigid set of rules that straps a child to a procrustean bed or a laissez-faire freedom that makes the environment a chaos to the child. This is what Margaret Mead has been saying in one form or another for at least ten years, and it seems to be said better than before.

Third, this book describes in detail an interdisciplinary project involving the anthropologist, child psychologist, pediatrician, and photographer-artist. Frances Cooke Macgregor's essential role as an expert in photography was to arrange the photographs in terms of the Gesell categories for describing physical development and behavior of children.—ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

Cerebral Mechanisms in Behavior: The Hixon Symposium. Edited by LLOYD A. JEFFRESS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1951. xiv, 311 pp. \$6.50.

Meeting in Pasadena in September, 1948, a panel of brain experts including Halstead, Lashley, Klüver and others presented six formal papers and extemporaneous discussions on the general problem of how the brain works. Their remarks were on the advanced research level and not at all addressed to a general public. For the reader who has enough psychological background and vocabulary to study the material, there is a good deal of stimulation. The principal im-

pression, however, must necessarily be of a frontier of knowledge in a state of exciting confusion. There is a growing mass of research knowledge, but it seems to destroy conceptualizations faster than it creates acceptable new ones. Not only the explanation of how the brain does operate, but even a hypothesis of how it *might* seems to be unavailable at present.

The findings do render one positive and valuable service—that of revealing the inadequacy of some of the popular and superficial notions of the nature of the reflex arc and its relationship to behavior. The brain is not merely a switchboard for the transmission of incoming impulses to the appropriate muscles. It is active all the time in all its parts, and imposes its patterns on the incoming neural messages. Furthermore, there are reverberations within the brain of a character and complexity that no conceivable automata can have. The "great unravelled knot" seems to get more mysterious with the increase of our information about it.—ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Woman at Work: the Autobiography of Mary Anderson. As told to MARY WINSLOW. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951. xii, 266 pp. \$3.50.

The story of Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor for twenty-five years, needed telling, and Mary Winslow has contributed a very readable and valuable document of the efforts of women to eliminate the inequities in our society. The volume represents a fruitful effort to portray the obstacles and problems experienced by trade unions in seeking to organize women in the first part of this century. In a very dramatic fashion, there is depicted the variety of struggles endured by working women to better their own wages, hours, and working conditions; and the role played by such women as Jane Addams of Hull House, Mary McDowell, and Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the Women's Trade Union League, in this movement to improve the plight of working women. With over eighteen million women in the labor force, we have come to realize the crucial role that women play in industry, and Mary Anderson's story graphically illustrates the kinds of problems which unions have experienced in trying to convince women workers to join a union, as well as the problems which arise in the administration of the organization. "... to get women into the trade union movement required a technique that was different from organizing men." Any student who is interested in the role of women in our industrial society will find this book to be required reading.—JACK LONDON

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED



(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

- ADAMS, GEORGE WORTHINGTON. *Doctors in Blue: The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War*. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952. xii, 253 pp. \$4.00.
- ANDERSON, ELIN LILJA. *Rural Health and Social Policy*. Privately published, 1952. 31 pp. No price indicated.
- ANDERSON, W. A. and HAROLD E. SMITH. *Formal and Informal Participation in a New York Village*, Ithaca, N. Y.: N. Y. State College of Agriculture, 1952. 45 pp. No price indicated.
- BACKMAN, JULES, ANTONIN BASCH, SOLOMON FABRICANT, MARTIN R. GAINSBRUGH and EMANUEL STEIN. *War and Defense Economics: Containing Text of Defense Production Act Incorporating 1951 Amendments*. New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1952. xxi, 458 pp. \$4.50.
- BARNES, HARRY ELMER. *Society in Transition* (2nd edition). New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. xiii, 878 pp. \$6.00.
- BARNES, HARRY ELMER and HOWARD BECKER. *Social Thought from Lore to Science* (2nd edition). Volume One and Volume Two. Washington, D.C.: Harren Press, 1952. viii, 1178 pp. cx and cxxxv. \$15.00.
- BEIGEL, HUGO G. *Encyclopedia of Sex Education*. New York: Stephen Daye Press, 1952. 441 pp. \$4.95.
- BERELSON, BERNARD. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952. 220 pp. \$4.00.
- BLACK, DUNCAN and R. A. NEWING. *Committee Decisions with Complementary Valuation*. London: William Hodge and Company Limited, 1951. vii, 59 pp. 10/6d.
- BOLLES, BLAIR. *How to Get Rich in Washington: Rich Man's Division of the Welfare State*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1952. x, 309 pp. \$3.75.
- BOWER, WILLIAM CLAYTON. *Moral and Spiritual Values in Education*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1952. xv, 214 pp. \$3.50.
- BUHLER, CHARLOTTE, FAITH SMITTER, and SYBIL RICHARDSON. *Childhood Problems and the Teacher*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952. xi, 372 pp. \$3.75.
- NUTTERFIELD, HERBERT. *History and Human Relations*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952. 254 pp. \$3.50.
- CAMPBELL, CLYDE M. (Editor). *Practical Applications of Democratic Administration*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. x, 325 pp. \$3.00.
- CASSELMAN, PAUL HUBERT. *The Cooperative Movement and Some of its Problems*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. xiii, 178 pp. \$3.00.
- CATTELL, RAYMOND B. *Factor Analysis: An Introduction and Manual for the Psychologist and Social Scientist*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. xiii, 462 pp. \$6.00.
- COHEN, FRANK J. (Edited by HERMINE I. POPPER). *Children in Trouble: An Experiment in Institutional Child Care*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1952. xiv, 251 pp. \$3.50.
- COMHAIRE-SYLVAIN, SUZANNE. *Food and Leisure Among the African Youth of Leopoldville (Belgian Congo)*. Rondebosch, South Africa: School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1950. 124 pp. 10s.
- CURRAN, CHARLES A. *Counseling in Catholic Life and Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. xxvi, 462 pp. \$4.50.
- CURRAN, J. A., JR. *Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: A Study of the R. S. S.* New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1952. 94 pp. \$1.50.
- DAVEY, HAROLD W. *Contemporary Collective Bargaining*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. xi, 532 pp. \$5.50.
- DAVIS, S. *Race-Relations in Ancient Egypt: Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew, Roman*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. xiii, 176 pp. \$4.50.
- DE CASTRO, JOSUE. *The Geography of Hunger*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1952. xii, 337 pp. \$4.50.
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- DONALD, HENDERSON H. *The Negro Freedman: Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years After Emancipation*. New York: Henry Schuman, 1952. 270 pp. \$4.00.
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- ELWIN, VERRIER. *The Tribal Art of Middle India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1952. 214 pp. \$7.50.
- FISHER, BURTON R. and STEPHEN B. WITHEY. *Big Business as the People See It: A Study of a Socio-Economic Institution*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, 1951. xiii, 200 pp. No price indicated.
- FLUMIANI, CARLO MARIA. *Basic Precepts on the Physiology and Pathology of Leadership*. Santa Clara, Calif.: Institute for Political and Economic Studies, 1952. 42 pp. \$1.00.
- GALANTIÈRE, LEWIS (Editor). *America and the Mind of Europe*. New York: Library Publishers, 1952. 125 pp. \$2.75.
- GILLIN, JOHN LEWIS, CLARENCE G. DITTMER, ROY J. COLBERT, and NORMAN M. KASTLER. *Social Problems* (4th edition). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. xiv, 496 pp. \$4.25.
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- GRAHAM, ROBERT A., S. J. and ROBERT C. HARTNETT, S. J. (Edited by CHARLES KEENAN, S. J.). *Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican*. New York: The America Press Inc., 1952. 48 pp. Twenty-five cents.
- GREBLER, LEO. *Housing Market Behavior in a Declining Area: Long-Term Changes in Inventory and Utilization of Housing on New York's Lower East Side*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. xix, 265 pp. \$4.50.
- GRIFFITH, EDWARD F. *A Sex Guide to Happy Marriage*. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1952. 352 pp. \$3.00.
- GRONLUND, NORMAN E. *The Accuracy of Teachers' Judgments Concerning the Sociometric Status of Sixth-Grade Pupils*. New York: Beacon House Inc., Sociometry Monographs, No. 25, 1951. 62 pp. \$2.75.
- HAAS, FRANCIS J. *Man and Society* (2nd edition). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1952. xxi, 554 pp. \$4.50.
- HASKINS, CARYL P. (With an Introduction by VANNEVAR BUSH). *Of Societies and Men*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1951. xiv, 282 pp. \$4.50.
- HATT, PAUL K. (Editor). *World Population and Future Resources: The Proceedings of the Second Centennial Academic Conference of Northwestern University*. New York: American Book Co., 1952. xviii, 262 pp. \$3.50.
- HAVEMANN, ERNEST and PATRICIA SALTER WEST. *They Went to College: The College Graduate in America Today*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952. x, 277 pp. \$4.00.
- HEDLUND, EARL C. *The Transportation Economics of the Soybean Processing Industry*. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. 33, No. 1. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1952. vii, 189 pp. \$2.00 Paper, \$3.00 Cloth.
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